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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Vol. II, No. 4 Summer 1992

This Quarter's Theme:

Twenty Years Later: A Lost Opportunity

Remembering the 1972 Report of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future

Featuring Articles by:

David Simcox

Rep. James Scheuer

Roy Beck

PLUS
ESSAYS, OPINION PIECES, AND REPORTAGE ON: immigration, employment, population growth, international migration, bilingual education, assimilation and the preservation of culture.

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A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Just over two decades ago, concern over rapidly growing human population led to the development of the so-called "population movement" aimed at reducing the rate of population growth, both at home and abroad. At home, for a variety of reasons, birth rates fell sharply to sub-replacement levels. Immigration, however, grew steadily due, in significant measure, to the burgeoning population overseas. Today, human numbers world wide expand at about 10,000 per hour, a quarter of a million each day.

The combined circumstances of low birth rates and high immigration pressures pose for all the developed countries the three most fundamental questions of immigration policy:

1. Of the many millions who would like to come, how many shall we admit?
2. Who will be chosen to immigrate, and what should the criteria be for choosing?
3. How shall we enforce the rules we decide upon?

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT seeks to explore and illuminate these questions, by publishing new material, and also by pulling together and reprinting existing works from many now-scattered sources. Our hope is to provide a periodical devoted to the inter-related topics of:

— **Human population** questions, including its absolute size, rate of growth, and distribution. In nations with low natural increase and high immigration, the latter is a significant component of population growth. (In an ideal world, policy on immigrant numbers would derive in large measure from an overall policy on population size.)
— **Immigration** policy, especially as it relates to the three basic policy questions mentioned above: how many, who, and how?
— **Language, assimilation, and national unity** considerations, which in large measure derive from and are driven by immigration and assimilation policies.
— **The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities**, since, as with many issues today, population, immigration and language questions are often framed in terms of 'rights.' What is the proper balance of individual and community rights and interests?

Our method for approaching these connected issues is the time-honored concept of "The Social Contract." Most great public issues are at bottom moral and ethical ones: What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When 'rights' collide, which ones shall take precedence? The discipline of thinking through these issues in terms of a Social Contract allows one to achieve a balance: of individual and community interests; of the short and the long term; and of utopian idealism and the realities of the world we live in.

But most importantly, THE SOCIAL CONTRACT is not a detached forum for discussion in some backwater of life. Our issues are all in the forefront of public policy discussions in the United States, which is our primary focus. Our Associate Editors are drawn from many of the main organizations trying to influence the course of policy in the issue areas we have chosen. Our journal is one of the tools they use to raise questions, debate themes, and communicate ideas, to encourage vigorous public debate and subsequent changes in our laws and public policies.

We invite you to take part in this Great Debate by reading and contributing to THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.

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EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

JOHN TANTON
Petoskey, Michigan

ASSOCIATE EDITOR

WAYNE LUTTON
Petoskey, Michigan

MANAGING EDITOR

ROBERT KYSER
Alanson, Michigan

WASHINGTON EDITOR

ROY BECK
1666 Connecticut Ave., NW, Room 410
Washington, D.C. 20009
Telephone (202) 265-1179

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TWENTY YEARS AND COUNTING... EDITORIAL

It is now two decades since our country made its first attempt to enunciate a national population policy. President Nixon had appointed the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future. I well recall testifying before it on behalf of the Sierra Club, as chairman of its Population Committee. We witnesses were hopeful... there was little opposition... it was the heyday of the population movement. Why, then, did so little happen?

We have asked David Simcox, Executive Director of the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) to help us analyze this question and commemorate the work of the Commission. His lead article sets the stage for the recollections of Congressman James Scheuer (D-NY), one of the commissioners. Roy Beck follows this with interviews of some of the principal staff people and consultants. We conclude this feature section by reproducing the chapter on immigration from the Commission's report. This was one of the very first public acknowledgements of the immigration topic, in what has become the late-twentieth-century round of immigration debates.

The Rockefeller Commission was an opportunity lost — perhaps by overzealous staff people who could not content themselves with first steps. We pay the price today in a rudderless immigration policy that has no overall guidance on numbers. The reckoning will come in our children's generation as, in the meantime, we continue to multiply our numbers and divide our resources.

Beyond this "commemoration" (requiem?) we present an interesting collection of articles on the consequences of a short-term and poorly thought out immigration policy, a glance at the international migration scene, and several valuable items on the opening up of the immigration debate in the United States. These last-mentioned articles are particularly heartening, as we have long-theorized that in the U.S.A. there would be three stages in the immigration debate:

1. The *Statue of Liberty/ Emma Lazarus* phase, in which appealing to the (misunderstood) imagery of the statue[1] and reciting Ms. Lazarus' poem are sufficient answers to any and all immigration policy questions. Both conjure up a politically correct understanding of America as perpetually open to unlimited immigration.

2. The *caveat* phase, in which people are beginning to think about the issue rather than just react to it — but still feel the need to excuse themselves for this lack of orthodoxy by prefacing their comments with "Now, I'm not a racist or a xenophobe, but I've been thinking about immigration and..."

3. The *free discussion* phase, in which the immigration topic matures into a legitimate item for public debate, just like any other important national issue. Those who engage in the debate can do so without having to endure the reprisals of character assassination.

We take hope that the articles reproduced in the section entitled "Immigration: The Emerging Topic" are signs that we are at last moving into Phase Three.

We conclude by reviewing several offerings out of the current surge of population- and immigration-related books.

But underlying all these considerations is the question of numbers. Somehow we must work our way back upstream to an agreement on how numerous we want to become.

John H. Tanton
Editor and Publisher

[1] See Elizabeth Koed's essay "A Symbol Transformed: How 'Liberty Enlightening the World' Became 'The Mother of Exiles'" in the Spring 1992 issue of *The Social Contract*, page 134 ff.

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Letters to the Editor

Editor:

The bilingual-ballot provision [of the Voting Rights Act] expires this year. In Congress the Hispanic Caucus is already hard at work to secure its renewal — this time for fifteen, not ten years. It's high time President Bush and Congress together called a halt to this piece of political nonsense, which dates back to the Minority Language Rights Provision of 1975.

Enough is enough!

For two centuries immigrants have come here and assimilated into the mainstream. Learning English for them, an essential to true assimilation into American society, was no easier than it is for Hispanics and Asians today.

Why is it that recent immigrants into this country have so little respect for American history and culture as to expect us to provide them ballots in their native language? After all, they renounced their former national loyalty, and embraced the United States of America when they became American citizens.

The reason for their disrespect is that we have not demanded their respect as a nation.

Think of the absurdity of the following scenario: You and I, American citizens, move to Mexico and become naturalized Mexicans. We then ask for bilingual ballots so that we can vote in English. We would not only be the butt of innumerable jokes but the term "dumb Americans" would acquire new meaning in Mexican circles.

Bilingual ballots divorce a knowledge of our common language from a citizen's most basic duty and right — voting. The message they clearly convey is that ethnic differences outweigh guarding our national unity and heritage.

A command of English is all but a *sine qua non* for enlightened participation in public life here. In our form of representative democracy no vote at all is preferable to an uninformed or misinformed vote, or one dictated by a self-serving political boss.

To acquire American citizenship, legal immigrants must — with a few exceptions — pass an English-language test and a Civics test administered by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. That's what the law *says*.

But that's not what the law does. Had the INS properly enforced the law — which it has not in recent years — we could assume that all new citizens, except for rare exceptions, would be able to at least read a simple ballot in English. Though an exception to the English test is made for those immigrants over fifty years of age who have lived here for twenty years or more, might one not reasonably assume that even these American residents would have learned enough English to read a simple ballot?

If so, can we not expect them to distinguish names of political parties and candidates on an English ballot?

How can illiterate American citizens vote? Well, they can use an absentee ballot, take it home with them or wherever, get all the help they can from relatives and friends, then mail or take the ballot to the county clerk. Or they can take a "crib sheet" with them into the polling booth along with a trusted friend or relative or election official to help them mark a ballot.

Why can't citizens of foreign backgrounds who are deficient in English use the same means that English-speaking Americans who are illiterate use?

Answer: They can. Let's tell our congress-members not to renew provisions for bilingual ballots.

Charles L. King
Professor Emeritus of Spanish
University of Colorado
Boulder, CO

[EDITOR'S NOTE: We welcome your letters as an opportunity to widen the debate on matters of population growth, immigration, and the future of American culture. Address *The Social Contract* at 316½ E. Mitchell Street, Suite 4, Petoskey, Michigan 49770.]

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It was just twenty years ago that the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future reported to President Nixon. The recommendations of the Commission have been essentially ignored or avoided. David Simcox, Executive Director of the Center for Immigration Studies discusses 'what might have been' — which becomes instructive of 'what might be' if changes in policy can be effected now.

The Commission on Population Growth and the American Future

20 YEARS LATER: A LOST OPPORTUNITY

By David Simcox

> *After two years of concentrated effort, we have concluded that, in the long run, no substantial benefits will result from further growth of the Nation's population, rather that the gradual stabilization of our population would contribute significantly to the Nation's ability to solve its problems.*
>
> *John D. Rockefeller III, 1972*

This was the central, anti-growth message of the report submitted to President Richard Nixon by the Commission on Population and the American Future when it completed its work two decades ago.

Often called the "Rockefeller Commission" after its chairman, John D. Rockefeller III, the Commission was chartered by Congress in 1970. President Nixon, who appointed most of the Commission's members, was the fourth in a series of U.S presidents beginning with Eisenhower to voice concern over population growth and to support the principle of family planning assistance. Nixon had highlighted the need for action on population in a 1969 speech:

> *One of the most serious challenges to human destiny in the last third of this century will be the growth of the population. Whether man's response to that challenge will be a cause for pride or for despair in the year 2000 will depend very much on what we do today.*

The concept of a high level national commission on population first took form in President Lyndon Johnson's 1968 Committee on Population and Family Planning. American women were then averaging 2.5 children. The Committee, co-chaired by Rockefeller and Wilbur Cohen, then Secretary of Health and Human Services, concluded its 1986 report with a recommendation for a National Commission for help in "...highlighting for the American people the urgency and importance of the population problem."

Though Nixon ultimately rejected the report of the Commission in 1972, in retrospect the Commission's very existence seems even more remarkable in light of today's environment of complacency and passive pronatalism prevailing among leaders in both parties. The Commission is the closest the United States has come to even acknowledging the desirability of a national population policy. The concept of a commission drew strength from public and congressional concern in the late 1960s that rapid population growth could have serious consequences if the high fertility of the 1950s and early 1960s persisted. (When the Commission was convened the U.S. fertility rate was 2.46. While that was the lowest since 1945, average fertility in the decade up to 1970 had been 2.9. The U.S. population had grown one-third since 1950.)

CONFRONTING THE ENDURING 'GROWTH MYSTIQUE'

The Commission's recommendations were as counter-cultural as they were visionary. Rockefeller and his commissioners frontally attacked the nation's conventional wisdom on population, including what the report called the "ideological addiction to growth." The report saw the stubborn and addictive "growth mystique" as a manifestation of outdated historical reasons. It deplored an inherent pronatalist bias in America's social institutions, such as the poor understanding of sex and consequent lack of control of the reproductive process; and the failure to integrate minorities, which has limited their freedom to choose smaller families.

The Commission also bemoaned a national tendency to greet the prospect of sub-replacement fertility with cries of anxiety over national prosperity,

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INSIGHTS FROM THE 1972 REPORT OF THE ROCKEFELLER COMMISSION

- **Quality of Life Gains** - The diminished burden of providing for dependents, and for the multiplication of facilities to keep up with expanding population, should make more of our national output available for many desirable purposes: new kinds of capital formation, including human resources investment; public expenditures involving qualitative improvement and modernization; and greater attention to environmental and amenity objectives. Whatever the future problems of regions may be, we should have more ample per capita resources to attack them with a lower rate of population growth.

- **Freedom of Choice** - We should strive for the ideal of diversity in which it would be equally honorable to marry or not, to be childless or not, to have one child or two or, for that matter, more. Our goal is one of less regimentation of reproductive behavior, not more.

- **The Growth Ethic** - The growth ethic seems to be so imprinted in human consciousness that it takes a deliberate effort of rationality and will to overcome it, but that effort is now desirable.

- **The Risks of Just 'Coping'** - From the standpoint of resources and the environment, the U.S. can cope with rapid population growth for the next 30 to 50 years. But doing so will become an increasingly unpleasant and risky business — unpleasant because 'coping' with growth means adopting solutions we don't like; risky because it means adopting solutions before we understand them.

- **Population: the Amplifier in Ecological Decline** - Population growth is clearly not the sole culprit in ecological damage. ...But the overall effect [of frivolous and extravagant consumption that pollutes] is a product of numbers times styles of life taken together. One multiplies the other to produce the total impact.

- **The Diversion of Effort from Solving Social Problems** - Another price we pay for having to cope with continued population growth is the pressure to keep on postponing the solution of social problems. ...A large and perhaps growing fraction of our physical and intellectual capital is directly and indirectly devoted to these tasks — to finding ways to cope with the problems continued growth generates.

- **Growth Limits Options** - Continued population growth limits our options. ...With less land per person and more people to accommodate, there are fewer alternatives, less room for diversity, less room for error. To cope with growth, technology *must* advance, lifestyles *must* change. Slower population growth offers us the difference between choice and necessity, between prudence and living dangerously.

security and virility — even with warnings of "race suicide." So stating, the Commission ironically foretold the rhetoric of the resurgent pronatalism that would pervade the Reagan-Bush era, with its gloomy warnings of the dangers of diminishing consumption, slow labor force growth, inadequate military manpower, and a loss of the critical population mass presumably vital to 'great power' status.

Epitomizing pronatalism's ascendancy in the White House was the 1984 U.S. policy statement at the U.N. Conference on Population in Mexico City, which characterized the keen population concerns of the 1960s and 1970s as "demographic overreaction" born of pessimisim and anxiety over an uncertain future.

The link in the popular mind and in the business community between population growth and economic prosperity was high among the Commission's targets:

> *We have looked for, and have not found, any convincing economic argument for continued population growth. The health of our country does not depend on it, nor does the vitality of business nor the welfare of the average person.*

The Commission, which included business leaders, found that no industry would suffer inordinately in adapting to a gradual transition to the two-child family. Per capita income and overall income would continue to rise during the transition. Labor force growth under the two-child assumption would not fall significantly until after 2000. But the social and environmental costs accompanying the rapid labor force growth under the three-child projection, stemming from increased pressures for consumption, production and employment, would be avoided. The Commission saw no evidence for claims that an older labor force resulting from slower growth would lack the energy, flexibility and imagination of a younger one.

The report itself and the accompanying research papers concluded that the costs to the nation of the three-child family would exceed any economic benefits, warning that infrastructure, quality of services, resources and individual prosperity would be threatened. Among its findings:

- **Water** - Growing population and economic activity would cause the areas of water shortage in the southwest to spread eastward and

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northward in the ensuing decades, affecting Texas and most of the prairie states by 2020. The deficits would spread faster if population growth continued to follow the three-child projection.

- **Outdoor recreation** - The two-child family would markedly ease the already heavy pressure on parks and other outdoor recreation by diminishing overall numbers and by lowering the percentage of the population in young age groups, who make disproportionate use of facilities.
- **Pollution** - Whatever the assumptions about post-1972 treatment policy, pollution emissions in 2000 would be less with the two-child family than with the three-child rate of population growth — from 5 to 12 percent less, depending on the pollutant.
- **Public Services** - The country would have to spend more in absolute terms to provide public services, particularly education, at the three-child rate of growth. Slower growth, while lessening pressure on public services, would also yield higher per capita income and higher per capita government revenues.

The report warned that the population could reach 400 million as early as 2013 if Americans retained the three-child family as the norm. Appealing for acceptance of the obvious fact that the population cannot grow indefinitely, the commissioners recommended that the nation "welcome and plan for a stabilized population."

ABORTION, CONTRACEPTION AND SEX EDUCATION: BELLING THE PORCUPINE

Meeting head-on the fiercest dragons of public opinion on reproduction, the commissioners recommended: emulation by all state governments of New York's lead in legalizing abortion; an end to the remaining bans on contraceptives (the Federal government had only the year before repealed the last of the 1873 Comstock Law's restrictions on contraceptives); and government affirmation of ready access by all to contraceptive information, procedures and supplies.

Other major recommendations to aid family planning and give prospective parents more

- **Growth and Regimentation** - Population growth forces upon us slow but irreversible changes in life style. Imbedded in our traditions as to what constitutes the American way of life is freedom from public regulation — virtually free use of water; access to uncongested unregulated roadways; freedom to do as we please with what we own. ...Clearly, we do not live this way now. Maybe we never did. But everything is relative. The population of 2020 may look back with envy on what, from their vantage point, appears to be our relatively unfettered way of life.
- **Political Overpopulation** - Representation at the national level is diluted by population growth. The constituency of an individual congressman has grown enormously since the size of the House of Representatives was fixed at 435 members in 1910. ...The size of the constituency is clearly not the sole factor in determining excellence in government ...But it cannot be denied that the individual's voice will be diminished under such circumstances. No increase of Congress's ability to communicate with constituents by mass media can disguise or make up for that diminution.
- **Population and National Security** - When the nation was young, her defense depended upon the number of people bearing arms. More people meant greater national security. ...Recent technology, including nuclear weaponry, has reduced the significance of massive armies. ...We can discern no threat to the nation's security from lesser future growth of the total population.
- **Fears of an Aging Population** - The age structure of a population is unlikely to be decisive in the forms of social organization which emerge. And as we have seen, there are many advantages of population stabilization which seem clearly to outweigh any fears of an older population.
- **Minorities' Suspicions of Population Curbs** - This feeling of powerlessness, of exclusion, has led some [minority] spokesmen to suggest that the only way to break in to the "system" is by growing so large in numbers that they can no longer be ignored. As we learned from a Spanish-speaking witness, "... what we must do is to encourage large Mexican American families so that we will eventually be so numerous that the system will either respond or it will be overwhelmed." The Reverend Jesse Jackson reminded us "... our community is suspect of any programs that would have the effect of either reducing or levelling off our population growth. Virtually all the security we have is in the number of children we produce."
- **Women's Rights** - ...it would seem good social policy to recognize and to facilitate the trend toward smaller families by making it possible for women to choose attractive roles in place of or supplementary to motherhood.

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information and greater choice included:

1. Availability of sex education to all through the schools and other community institutions.
2. Approval of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution and government efforts to end all discrimination based on sex.
3. Development of a national policy and voluntary program to reduce unwanted fertility, to improve the outcome of pregnancy, and to improve child health.
4. Creation of an Office of Population Growth and Distribution in the White House, and stronger bureaucratic and committee machinery for population matters in the executive branch and Congress.

The report hit Congress, the White House and the public at an inauspicious time. Concern about population within Congress and the White House, absorbed as they were by election matters, was waning. The prospect that had earlier alarmed the public and Congress — that the "Baby Boom" might resume — collided with mounting evidence of falling fertility in the early 1970s.

Fertility fell below replacement level in 1972 for the first time, ushering in the so-called sub-replacement "birth dearth" that persisted into the late 1980s. Liberalization of abortion laws in a number of states, followed by *Roe v. Wade* in 1973, further aroused a powerful pro-life movement that chilled legislative initiatives on population. Except for its Joint Economic Committee, where Rockefeller Commission member Rep. Jim Scheuer had a key position, Congress showed little interest in following up on the report. [See Rep. Scheuer's essay beginning on page 203]

The Commission rejected the common notion that "the problem will take care of itself." It agreed that historically high fertility had declined on its own in other western industrial nations, but saw this as no reason for inaction:

> *On the basis of these facts (about Europe's lower fertility), the Nation might ask, "why worry," and decide to wait and see what happens. Our judgement is that we should not wait. Acting now, we encourage a desirable trend. Acting later, we may find ourselves in a position of trying to reverse an undesirable trend. We should take advantage of the opportunity the moment presents rather than wait for what the unknown future holds.*

A 'LIBERAL' COMMISSION IN A 'CONSERVATIVE' ADMINISTRATION

Despite Nixon's early words of encouragement, during the Commission's two-year life the White House cooled on population issues and on the Commission itself, ultimately rejecting its report. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who as a key Nixon aide had been a leading advocate for the Commission, had left the White House.

"Tactically, the Commission may have damaged itself by its loud and divisive debate of issues such as day-care, equal rights for women, and subsidized housing for low and moderate income people."

Population policy had become the ward of the more conservative John Ehrlichman of Watergate renown, who was less congenial to the Commission's perspective. The conservative ideologues of the White House were uncomfortable with some of the positions the Commission was taking on liberalized abortion, contraception, and sex education policies, and on greater rights and opportunities for women and minorities. Some of the Commission's recommendations for greater population and land use planning and increased government involvement were too "dirigiste," too radical feminist, or too costly for the White House's anti-bureaucracy, *laissez faire* instincts.

Within a month of its release, the U.S. Catholic Bishops blasted the report for its permissive attitude toward abortion and contraception, charging the commissioners with a "confined view of the inherent value of every person." On May 4, 1992, the White House rejected the report with a statement stressing that "abortion is an unacceptable means of birth control," and that distribution of contraceptives to minors "will do nothing to strengthen close family relations."

Tactically, the Commission may have damaged itself by its loud and divisive debate of issues such

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as day-care, equal rights for women and subsidized housing for low and moderate income people. However important in their own right, these issues discomfited the White House, distracting it from the central issue of rapid population growth.

"In addition to calling for a freeze on legal immigration at about 400,000 a year, the Commission recommended greater resources for enforcement and sanctions on employers hiring illegal aliens."

IMMIGRATION AS A MAJOR POPULATION GROWTH FACTOR

The Commission clearly recognized immigration's potential in fueling population growth, even though legal immigration totalled only 373,000 in 1970:

> *The Commission recommends that immigration not be increased and that immigration policy be reviewed periodically to reflect demographic conditions and considerations.*

Some dissenting commissioners, who argued unsuccessfully for *reductions* of immigration by ten percent a year for five years were troubled by:

> *...the inconsistency of planning for population stabilization for our country and at the same time accepting large numbers of immigrants each year.*

In addition to calling for a freeze on legal immigration at about 400,000 a year, the Commission recommended greater resources for enforcement and sanctions on employers hiring illegal aliens. Congress did not enact employer sanctions until 1986. Resources for enforcement have actually shrunk in real dollar terms relative to the volume of illegal movement, the growth of the pool of unemployed in the Caribbean Basin, and the rise in the work load of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

HAVE WE MISSED THE TRAIN FOR GOOD?

Did the United States miss a unique opportunity twenty years ago to take control of its population future? The three-child family the Commission feared has not returned. But mass immigration and resurgent fertility have made the two-child family a receding prospect. In the twenty years since the Rockefeller commission:

- Fertility fell from 2.01 in 1972 to a low of 1.74 in 1976, but rebounded to 2.1 by 1991. The U.S. birthrate of 17 per thousand was the highest among western industrial countries.
- Minority populations still show fertility significantly above replacement level. 1989 surveys in California showed Hispanic women averaging 3.9 births, compared to 3.2 births for women in Mexico.
- The U.S. population has grown by more than 50 million. Half of that growth represents post-1970 immigrants and their descendants.
- Grants of all categories of permanent residency to aliens have increased from 385,000 in 1972 to 1.8 million in 1991 — an all time high.
- Apprehensions of illegal aliens have more than doubled — from 500,000 in 1972 to 1.1 million in 1991. The settled illegal alien population grows by 300,000 yearly.
- Refugee immigration grew from 29,000 in 1972 to 144,000 in 1992.
- Immigration has increased its annual share of population growth from 25.6 percent in 1970 to 36.3 percent in 1990. The foreign-born population grew from 4.8 percent of the population in 1970 to more than eight percent in 1990.

As the Commission warned, immigration has become a potent ingredient for population growth, with the newcomers both more numerous than foreseen and more fertile than the settled population. A study in 1991 of California's rapid population growth by demographer Leon Bouvier found the well-above-replacement fertility rates of the Hispanic and Asian populations (compared to 1.7 among non-Hispanic whites) to be largely sustained by the very high fertility of the sizable foreign-born segments of those populations.

Under the Census Bureau's "high" series of assumptions in 1988 of fertility of 2.2, life expectancy of 88 years and net immigration of

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800,000, the U.S. population would surpass 500 million by 2080. Since then, Census's "high" assumptions have become the most plausible population scenario: fertility in 1991 was 2.1 and net legal and illegal immigration over 900,000 a year. More conservatively, and therefore more alarming, a 1992 Urban Institute study projects a U.S. population of 355.5 million by 2040, assuming fertility of 1.9 and net immigration of 950,000 yearly over the period.

"...mass immigration and rebounding fertility have made the population stability that was central to the Commission's message ... a remote and receding prospect."

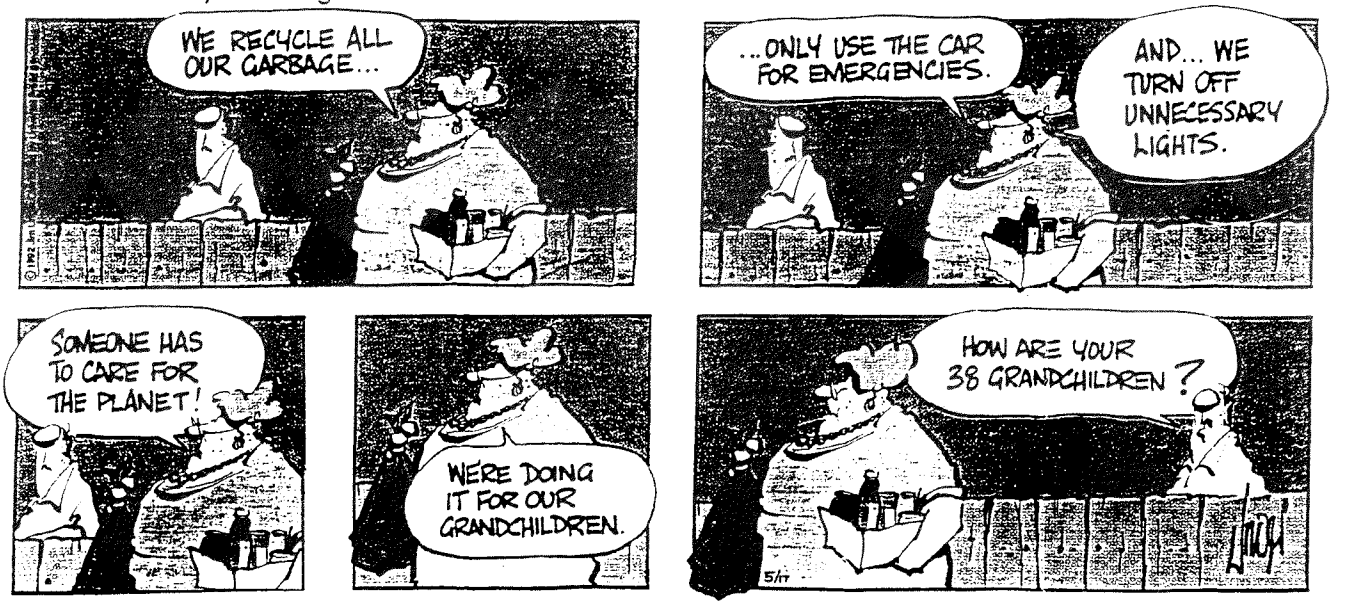
Mass immigration has, in effect, negated much of the population savings from America's turn to the two-child family twenty years ago and has made more likely the troubling population outcome the Commission warned of. In terms of population effects, the United States now has the "two-and-one-half-child" family because of immigration, perhaps more than that in the coming years if the high fertility of the newcomers is slow to fall.

Two decades after the Rockefeller Commission gave its insights to an unimpressed national leadership, the United States faces a future of unending population growth. The Rockefeller Commission can be thanked for stimulating a more open and positive public mind-set on abortion and contraception. Federal courts and enlightened state legislatures accomplished some of the key recommendations that pronatalist federal administrations have ignored.

But mass immigration and rebounding fertility have made the population stability that was central to the Commission's message, and to the well-being of America's future generations, a remote and receding prospect. The environmental and resource problems that have come to absorb us since 1972 either spring directly from population growth or are ever more difficult to resolve because of it.

The Commission, like the ancient Greek seer Cassandra, twenty years ago prophetically spoke troubling words to those in power. And like Cassandra it tragically went unheeded. ■

HERMAN by Jim Unger


WE RECYCLE ALL OUR GARBAGE...
...ONLY USE THE CAR FOR EMERGENCIES.
AND... WE TURN OFF UNNECESSARY LIGHTS.
SOMEONE HAS TO CARE FOR THE PLANET!
WE'RE DOING IT FOR OUR GRANDCHILDREN.
HOW ARE YOUR 38 GRANDCHILDREN?
LUNCH

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Congressman James Scheuer was a member of the 1972 Commission on Population Growth and the American Future. In the House of Representatives, he is Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Natural Resources and Environment of the Committee on Science, Space and Technology, and Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Education and Health of the Joint Economic Committee.

A DISAPPOINTING OUTCOME:

United States and World Population Trends Since the Rockefeller Commission

By Representative James Scheuer (D.-NY)

Twenty years ago our work on the National Commission on Population Growth and the American Future came to an end. We had spent two years discussing every aspect of population growth; we had heard from some of the most distinguished experts in the world; we had benefitted from an outstanding professional staff and from the patient wisdom of our chairman, John D. Rockefeller III. We were pleased with our product, and we anticipated great results.

Our overall basic conclusion said it all: "...in the long run, no substantial benefits will result from further growth of the Nation's population, rather the gradual stabilization of our population through voluntary means would contribute significantly to the Nation's ability to solve its problems." Although the report concentrated on the United States, we hoped that our message would be conveyed to the rest of the world, especially the Third World nations where population growth was out of control. The United States had long been criticized for faulting the poorer nations for their large families while doing nothing about our own demographically-related problems. Now the nation had spoken out, loud and clear, through a distinguished commission. Maybe, just maybe, we would be heard and the cancer of overpopulation would eventually be eliminated.

Our exuberance was short-lived. Then-president Richard Nixon promptly ignored our final report. The reasons were obvious — the fear of attacks from the far right and from the Roman Catholic Church because of our positions on family planning and abortion. With the benefit of hindsight, it is now clear that this obstruction was but the first of many similar actions to come from high places.

Here we are — twenty years later. What has happened, demographically, over those two decades? Was the Commission successful in arresting United States population growth? Was the Commission successful in influencing poorer nations to do something about their massive population problems? I fear that the answers to these questions are negative.

In 1970, U.S. population stood at 203 million. We have recently passed the 255 million mark. In just twenty years, we have added more than 50 million people. In 1970, world population was estimated at about 3.5 billion; today world population is approaching 5.5 billion. In just twenty years, we have added 2 billion people to our planet. So much for our perhaps naive dreams that our recommendations would serve as a model for our country and for the poorer nations of the world.

What happened to destroy our goal of eventual population stabilization in the United States? As we had hoped, fertility fell even as we were completing our task. For the next fifteen years, American women averaged fewer than two births. Many factors explain this lowered fertility. In 1970, for example, I co-sponsored (along with a new Congressman from Texas by the name of George Bush) the first national program to fund family planning clinics. However, I would like to think that the Commission's work, together with the publicity it received, convinced some Americans that having no more than two children was good for all concerned.

Because of the baby boom that had ended shortly before the Commission began its deliberations, a momentum for growth was built into the population. Although the baby boomers themselves had fewer children, so many of them were "available" to have those children, that the number of births went up. We knew that population growth could not stop overnight. What was unforeseen at the time was the enormous increase in immigration, both

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legal and illegal, that began in 1968 and rose in the 1970s and 1980s. Nine million people moved to the United States in the 1980s, more than in any similar period in history.

Today the nation's fertility has risen to 2.1 births per woman — in part due to the growing share of immigrants in the population. As immigrants and their offspring will continue to increase their proportion of the population, fertility will continue to climb.

Legal immigration will be greater than ever in the 1990s due to the 1990 legislation that will increase annual numbers by about 200,000. The United States accepts more legal immigrants than all other countries in the world combined. Our continued failure to end illegal movements from Mexico and central America, where the number of young adults searching for work is expected to double over the next fifteen years, further exacerbates the situation.

"Many factors have contributed to the lack of success in reducing population growth... The influence of certain groups, particularly the Roman Catholic Church, has been far more powerful than hitherto realized."

Immigration is a controversial issue in the United States. With legal and illegal entries now surpassing one million every year, there is growing concern that such numbers may be too high for the welfare of all Americans. Our absorptive capacity is being stretched beyond its limits. It is increasingly difficult to provide the proper education to additional millions of immigrants for the demands of the 21st century when we are failing to educate our own population.

With rising fertility rates and a continuing increase in immigration, legal and illegal, there is no end in sight to population growth in the United States.

The world picture is even more alarming. Almost 100 million people are added to the planet's population every year — 90 percent of them in less developed countries. Again we must ask: What happened? The momentum in a young population explains part of the growth. Some countries have experienced a decrease in fertility rates, but have experienced an explosion in the number of young people of child-bearing age. According to new projections from the United Nations, even if all women in the world had only two births from now on, the population would still reach 8 billion by 2100 and be still growing.

The billions of dollars in family-planning assistance have had an effect on the fertility of many nations. Yet, in most of Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East, fertility levels remain far above replacement. In Rwanda women still average 8 births; in Bolivia, almost 5.

Nevertheless, some remarkable accomplishments have been noted. South Korea's fertility rate fell from about 5 births per woman just thirty years ago to 1.6 by 1992. Rapid progress has occurred in Taiwan, Indonesia, Thailand, and other Asian countries.

Considerable success in reducing fertility has been experienced in parts of Latin America — Costa Rica, Colombia, Brazil and Mexico, for example. Yet in those instances, family size cannot seem to fall below 3 or 4 births. Mexico has had an active family planning program for almost 20 years. Its fertility has fallen — from about 6 or 7 births to just about 4 births. While laudable, this is not sufficient if population growth is ever to end.

Many factors have contributed to the lack of success in reducing population growth, whether in the United States or in the Third World. The influence of certain groups, particularly the Roman Catholic Church, has been far more powerful than hitherto realized.

A concerted effort has been made by these groups to obstruct all efforts to reduce population growth. This attitude gained credence at the 1984 World Population Conference in Mexico City when only the United States and the Vatican argued against being concerned with rapid population growth. James Buckley, the United States representative, insisted that "population growth is neutral." At that conference, I, along with many other members of Congress, pointed out that Buckley was speaking solely for the executive branch. We in the Congress hoped for a return to a more sane population and family planning program. Unfortunately, the Reagan-Bush administrations have continued to refuse even to discuss population growth problems. Indeed,

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according to a recent *Time* magazine article, "the Reagan administration agreed to alter its foreign-aid program to comply with the Roman Catholic Church's teachings on birth control." [Ed. note: Readers may wish to refer to a boxed item on page 35 of the February 24, 1992 issue of *Time* entitled "The U.S. and the Vatican on Birth Control."]

One cannot examine these influences without addressing the role of the Roman Catholic Church. Pope John Paul II has been outspoken in his denunciation of any artificial contraceptive techniques. Such denunciations made in places like Angola and India are particularly tragic. But the influence of the Vatican goes beyond mere papal posturing. With fertility falling to new lows in predominantly Catholic developed countries like France, Italy and Spain, the Church has apparently taken a new approach to reach those countries where fertility remains high. It argues that population growth is simply not a problem. In this, the Church has been aided by certain right-wing economists and the Reagan-Bush political team.

Whether at the World Population Conferences of 1974 and 1984, or during international Parliamentary meetings, the Roman Church has tried desperately to discourage countries from participating.

"While the Cold War has ended, we cannot ignore the possibility of more wars of survival for those nations who desperately need space for their rapidly growing populations."

This was particularly true of the 1986 sub-Saharan Africa meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe, sponsored by the Global Committee of Parliamentarians on Population and Development, which I helped organize in my role as Chairman of the Global Committee. In the months preceding the conference, the Vatican methodically contacted the Speakers of every nation's Parliament to dissuade them from attending this conference. Despite this pressure, Parliamentarians from 43 of the 46 invited nations attended and participated and agreed with the impassioned arguments of Zimbabwe's Finance Minister, Bernard Chidzero, that "continued rapid population growth will destroy all the progress we are just beginning to enjoy."

Pressure from the Vatican did not end with that meeting. It has culminated in the Church's success in keeping the issue of population growth practically out of the discussions at the June 1992 U.N. Conference on the Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro despite the pleas made at the conference by people like Jacques Cousteau.

The issue of population growth is too crucial to the future welfare of our nation and of the world to be left to a few groups like the conservative wing of the Reagan-Bush team and the Roman Catholic hierarchy and its allies in the fundamentalist movement.

As we look into the future, it is painfully obvious that neither the planet nor the United States will reach zero population growth in the next century. If present trends continue, the population of the U.S. could reach 390 million by 2050 and perhaps a half-billion by the end of the 21st century. Even with moderate reductions in fertility, world population could reach 12 billion by 2050 and 18 billion by 2100. Incredibly, if fertility remains constant at current levels, the world population in 2100 will surpass 109 billion! This, of course, will not occur. Mortality would rise well before such a huge number was ever reached and an end to population growth would take place, but at what a price to humanity!

How long must we continue to witness night after night on our TV screens the emaciated bodies of children dying of starvation? If obstructions to providing adequate family planning services to the people of the developing world are successful, these scenes will become more and more commonplace.

Already we are witnessing the beginning of this horrible "solution" to overpopulation in the famine-ravaged areas of Africa and elsewhere. While the Cold War has ended,we cannot ignore the possibility of more wars of survival for those nations who desperately need space for their rapidly growing populations. Indeed, the world should be thankful to China for its Herculean efforts to lower its fertility. While the one-child-family program may be unacceptable by western standards, we should also realize that without such a draconian program, China's population could easily be 2 billion rather than 1 billion! Would not a China of 2 billion people

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expand into neighboring lands to feed its teeming billions, who would be balancing on the precarious edge of starvation?

Because we did too little about reducing fertility a generation ago, the world is now faced with a new "population explosion" resulting from the momentum for growth I have discussed. The hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church is out of step with the rest of the world. Nafis Sadik, executive director of the U.N. Population Fund, has commented: "All mention of family planning has been removed [from the Earth Charter]. ...That was, I understand, at the very active participation of the Vatican and help by one or two governments ...Argentina and the Philippines."

"We need to exercise human compassion and do something about overpopulation and we have yet another opportunity to attain that goal: the 1994 World Population Conference."

Beyond the United Nations, Prince Charles has expressed concern about the position of the Roman Church in population matters, commenting with reference to the U.N. Conference on the Environment and Development: "Sadly, it seems that certain delegations are determined to prevent discussion of population growth." The Archbishop of Canterbury has called on the Vatican to rethink its opposition to birth control in the interest of containing population growth and protecting the environment. Sadly, the Pope has recently reaffirmed the position that "population is neutral."

If the Church and its supporters do not address this matter in a reasonable manner, the United Nations, and others, should implore them to engage in dialogue. The Roman Catholic Church and its allies cannot be allowed to dictate the rules of the game when it comes to preservation of life on this planet at some level of decency. Consensus is growing on this urgent matter. The United Nations and its agencies — UNFPA, UNICEV, UNDP, the World Bank and others — all agree that young couples everywhere in the world have the basic right to control the number and spacing of their children.

Twenty years ago, the Commission's work came to an end. We did not follow up on its recommendations, and population continued to increase at a rapid rate. This year at the U.N. Conference on the Environment and Development, we again missed a golden opportunity as the Vatican and others blocked any reasonable discussion of population problems.

We cannot fail again. The population clock is ticking too fast. What is needed is more grass roots support for those private organizations concerned with issues of population growth and immigration, both domestic and international. What is needed is the courage to speak out against those who, for some incomprehensible reason, are against any limitations on population growth.

We need to exercise human compassion and do something about overpopulation and we have yet another opportunity to attain that goal: the 1994 World Population Conference. At that conference, the various U.N. organizations — the World Health Organization, the World Bank, and all others concerned about the devastating effects of overpopulation — must successfully appeal to their adversaries to engage in discourse to solve this human conundrum. We must all join together to combat what may be the planet's greatest challenge — overpopulation. ■

[I wish to acknowledge the assistance and suggestions of my good friend, demographer Leon F. Bouvier, in preparing this paper. — J.S.]

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Our Washington editor interviewed two of the people who worked closely with the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future. The resulting conversations led him to think it might have turned out differently.

STILL NO POPULATION POLICY

Did the Rockefeller Commission Defeat Itself?

By Roy Beck

If a 1972 presidential commission had not been so aggressive in pursuit of the goal of individual freedom and power in fertility matters, might the country have benefitted from at least the beginnings of a national population policy? Or did the commission's recommendations on abortion, contraceptives and sex education merely serve as a convenient excuse for President Nixon to back out of what had previously seemed firm commitments to reducing population growth? If there was a change of heart in the Nixon administration, why?

These questions, which often came up during review of the work of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, rose anew upon hearing recollections in a recent conversation with Robert Park, the demographer with the U.S. Bureau of Census who served as deputy director of the population commission. Apparently President Nixon's science advisory committee did not object to the idea of slowing U.S. population growth or even stopping it. But the advisors weren't pleased with the way the commission approached the subject. "The commission was criticized for not establishing a demographic policy objective and for not limiting recommendations to those things that would have a clear bearing on its achievement," Park said. The science advisors had hoped the commission would provide a clear blueprint for federal government action, he said.

"With two decades of hindsight, one might wonder how different our population situation would be today had the commission approached its task in a different manner."

Creating such a blueprint certainly was one way the commission could have approached its task, Park said. But instead, it chose another style, the results of which Nixon summarily rejected, killing — as we now know — any chance for federal population policy through at least the current administration.

Nixon said he would not deal with the population stabilization document because of its calls for more freely available abortion, contraceptives and sex education. Those were thought to be far too controversial to be practicable. But, as was almost immediately proven, federal encouragement wasn't necessary to bring these goals to pass. Ironically, all three soon became a routine part of American life. And American fertility promptly dropped to replacement levels, quite apart from any government policy. Yet, the less sensationalized recommendations that could be achieved only through government action (such as immigration restrictions) are farther from reality today than in 1972. Without an overall population goal against which to measure actions, the federal government repeatedly has made decisions that have fueled large scale population growth.

With two decades of hindsight, one might wonder how different our population situation would be today had the commission approached its task in a different manner. Without such heavy emphasis on the sexual issues during a presidential election year, might the commission's report and recommendations for overall federal policies to slow down population growth have received more favorable attention from Nixon? Almost any kind of positive action from the president would have been significant because it would have provided a base on which other administrations and future Congresses could have built.

Park indicated that it was no accident that issues like abortion, contraception and sex education jumped out at Nixon. Members of the commission were as committed to those as they were to population stabilization, he said. Stabilization would not have satisfied most members if significant

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numbers of Americans nonetheless were having unplanned pregnancies, he said.

Although fertility was down by the time the commission finished its work in 1972, members were distressed that Americans still were having babies they didn't want," Park said. "Abortion and sex education were in the report, not because they were necessary for population control, but out of a sense that childbearing was far too uncertain a process in the United States. The folks on the commission were struggling with the problems individuals had in making choices on childbearing. When you look at the controversial recommendations, it is not clear they would be there, if you were working from just a demographic objective."

The commission felt that abortion, contraceptives and sex education were worthwhile in and of themselves and that it was good that they also tended to help the nation toward desired population stabilization, he said.

Items like immigration were in the report because "they were part of the balancing equation and you couldn't leave them out," Park said. "But there wasn't much discussion about immigration. It's true that immigration is the one thing the government can affect directly and regulate, unlike fertility. But it wasn't that salient a topic for the commission. The work was mostly about fertility and the issues involved with it. That was (chairman John D.) Rockefeller's main interest. And it was the director's main interest."

Park praised the 24 members of the commission for their hard work and willingness to find common ground despite diverse backgrounds: "The discussions were very lively. But in the end, every single commissioner signed. Nobody said this was a commission that went haywire. Rockefeller was the most gracious and gentle chairman. He shepherded the commission far more than he commanded it. This was a burning issue for him. He wanted competent attention to it. The way he went about his work was to get responsible and competent people paying attention to the issues rather than his dictating an outcome."

Is it possible former president Nixon might have acted on a population stabilization goal if it had been presented in a different way? For a better view of that, *The Social Contract* over the last few months has made a concerted effort to talk with Nixon and John Erlichman, his key domestic affairs aide. Erlichman finally said he wasn't interested in discussing the topic, and Nixon eventually sent word that his calendar was "fully committed" through the end of this year.

John Taylor, head of the Nixon Library, said he believes Nixon was serious about limiting population. For example, he said, Nixon rarely countered Ronald Reagan's policies while he was president. But on a number of occasions, he said, Nixon disagreed with Reagan's policy of reducing emphasis on world population.

"...Nixon believed that many U.S. problems were due to having only 50 years to accommodate the second hundred million Americans."

Ron Ridker, now with the World Bank and one of the key consultants for the population commission, speculated that Nixon likely would not have had a problem embracing the report except for the abortion part.

When the commission issued an interim report in 1971, Nixon appeared to be very concerned about population growth. Records of the public hearings of the commission reveal that his counsellor, Donald Rumsfeld, told the commission that Nixon believed that many U.S. problems were due to having only 50 years to accommodate the second hundred million Americans. And he was quite worried about how quickly the country might have to deal with a third and fourth hundred million:

> *The point this commission must make — that 300 or 400 million Americans is a development not to be taken lightly — is a most important one. The issue is not specific measures that the government might take. Such issues ultimately must be dealt with, but all of them rest on a far more important issue. That is: whether the American people agree that our population growth in the United States is of a serious enough consequence to require a collective decision.*

Rumsfeld seemed to be laying out the sequence

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that would be acceptable: first the commission and then the government would endorse the need for a population policy and perhaps some overall population goals; after that, the arguments about the precise strategies could take place. Instead, the commission presented everything at once, and Nixon rejected the whole package.

Rumsfeld went on to say that the credibility of U.S. efforts to help foreign nations limit their population growth hinged in part upon U.S. efforts at home. He urged the commission to focus on the features of America that its residents would wish to preserve and to "show us the ways in which a de-emphasis on quantity might permit us to devote more of our efforts to improving the quality of life in the United States."

It is haunting speculation to think about what could have happened if that expression of presidential interest in limiting population to improve the per capita living standards had evolved into action. But the commission ultimately was not able to help Nixon move in the direction he and some of his aides so eloquently had shown interest in following.

In 1969, before creating the commission, Nixon said: "One of the most serious challenges to human destiny in the last third of this century will be the growth of the population. Whether man's response to that challenge will be a cause for pride or for despair in the year 2000 will depend very much on what we do today."

Now, only eight years before the year 2000, the "collective decision" about population growth Rumsfeld suggested still has not been given expression in public policy. If not reason for despair, it is certainly no cause for pride. ■

Still Another 'Population' Bomb

The numbers keep exploding beyond the ability of technology to keep up. This time the explosion is in the number of automobiles. The World Resources Institute in Washington, D.C., in a report called "Driving Forces," says the United States is losing the battle to control carbon dioxide from auto emissions because of the exploding numbers of vehicles. Four million more cars and trucks take the road each year and cancel out the gains being made in fuel efficiency. The report says that if Congress were to mandate one percent increases in the fuel efficiency of new cars every year from now to 2010, the total carbon dioxide emissions would still grow by several percent.

The worldwide situation is even worse. There is less carbon dioxide coming from each vehicle than there was 20 years ago, but the number of cars has increased to such a degree that cars and trucks spew at least 63 percent more carbon dioxide into the atmosphere now than in 1971. By 2010 that could mean a further increase of 20 to 50 percent of worldwide carbon dioxide emissions from motor vehicles.

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Below we reprint the chapter on immigration from Population and the American Future: The Report of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future *submitted to President Nixon and the Congress twenty years ago by chairman John D. Rockefeller, 3rd.*

IMMIGRATION, POPULATION GROWTH, AND THE AMERICAN FUTURE

Report of the Rockefeller Commission, March 27, 1972

Because population growth has rarely been a concern of immigration policy makers, it is especially important to study immigration from the perspective of population policy. In the years 1861 to 1910, the average annual immigration rate per 1,000 total population of the United States was 7.5; the rate for the period 1911 to 1970 dropped to 1.8. The rate for the recent period reflects a rise from the 1930's, when there was a net outflow of migrants, to the 1960's when the rate was 2.2.[1]

Historically, immigration has contributed profoundly to the growth and development of this country. In fact, we pride ourselves on being a nation of immigrants. Traditionally, because of the desire to settle advancing frontiers and the demand for labor in the expanding industries, there were few restrictions on immigration. However, a changing situation early in this century became reflected in new immigration policies. The situation is now changing again, and it is appropriate that the Commission review the role of immigration.

"The 1965 legislation shifted the restriction from national origins to priorities based on family reunification, asylum for refugees, and needed skills and professions."

The Past

Our nation's history repeatedly reveals the outstanding contributions of immigrants. They provided much of the manpower and initiative that settled the colonies and opened the west. They helped build the railroads, worked in the factories, organized labor, succeeded at the highest levels of business and government, and have left an indelible mark on American arts and scholarship. Immigrants today are contributing in equally significant ways, and there is every reason to expect such benefits from immigration in the future. Our society has been shaped by the many identities of its citizens.

In response to the needs of the economically, religiously, and politically oppressed around the world and to our needs as a new and growing nation, there were no significant restrictions on immigration until after the Civil War. In 1882, Chinese immigrants were excluded. Later, other narrowly selective requirements were imposed for health and public welfare reasons. After World War I, there were strong social and political pressures to impose tight restrictions on immigration. The Immigration Act of 1924 defined special categories of immigrants (close relatives, refugees) not subject to numerical limits and set a quota of about 150,000 for all others. The legislation was based on complicated formulas to restrict immigrants from certain countries in order to retain the racial and ethnic composition of the United States population. This system was replaced by the Immigration Act of 1965.

The 1965 legislation shifted the restriction from national origins to priorities based on family reunification, asylum for refugees, and needed skills and professions. Because of past policy, there has been a dramatic shift in the geographic origins of our immigrants. From 1945 to 1965, 43 percent of immigrants came from Europe. But, from 1966 to 1970, only one-third of the immigrants were European, while one-third were Canadian and Latin American, and the remaining third were West Indian, Asian, and African.[2] This geographic change has also affected the racial composition of immigrants, increasing the number of nonwhites. Because of earlier changes in composition, women now outnumber male immigrants, and there are more families with dependents.[3] During the sixties, the

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flow of aliens arriving for permanent residence averaged about 332,000 per year. There were about 100,000 more such persons entering the country in 1970 than was the case in 1960.[4] Because the 1965 changes in immigration policies are so recent, it is not entirely clear whether these adjustments will develop into long-range trends.

The Demographic Implications[5]

Immigrants are now [1972] entering the United States at a rate of almost 400,000 per year. The relative importance of immigration as a component of population growth has increased significantly as declining birthrates diminish the level of natural increase. However, the proportion of the population which is foreign-born (about five percent) is not changing much. Between 1960 and 1970, about 16 percent of the total population growth was due to net immigration (the difference between the number of people entering the country and the number leaving). However, the increasing relative significance of immigration can be misleading for, if native births and deaths were balanced, immigration would account for 100 percent of population growth.

If net immigration were to remain at about 400,000 per year and all families were to have an average of two children, then immigrants arriving between 1970 and the year 2000, plus their descendants born here, would number 15 million at the end of the century. This would account for almost a quarter of the total population increase during that period.[6]

One should ask not only how much immigration contributes to population growth, but also how seriously immigration affects the advent of population stabilization. If immigration were to continue at the rate of about 400,000 per year, a rate of 2.0 rather than 2.1 children per woman would eventually stabilize the population, though at a later date. And the size of the population would ultimately be about eight percent larger than if there were no international migration whatsoever.[7]

If the flow of residents leaving this country were as large as the flow of immigrants, they would balance each other and have no impact on the growth rate. Unfortunately, no records are kept of people permanently leaving the country; emigration statistics must rely on indirect estimates. Indications are that emigration has been increasing recently from about 23,000 in 1965 to 37,000 in 1970. The most popular destinations are Canada, Israel, and Australia, and these may possibly account for more than half the emigrants. Emigration now is probably only about one-tenth the volume of immigration, but it has been proportionately larger in other periods of history. Of course, it is possible that it may increase again in the future.

"Immigrants will contribute about 23 percent of the population growth which is expected to occur within fixed metropolitan boundaries between 1970 and 2000..."

Immigration affects not only the growth of the population, but also its distribution. It is not surprising that the settlement patterns of immigrants reflect the distribution trends of the native population, since most immigrants come to this country either to join their relatives or obtain a job. In fact, immigrants tend to prefer metropolitan areas and are concentrated in a few of the largest cities. Immigrants will contribute about 23 percent of the population growth which is projected to occur within fixed metropolitan boundaries between 1970 and 2000, assuming the 2-child growth rate.[8] Not only do immigrants tend to be highly metropolitan, they are also concentrated in a few states. Two-thirds of the recent immigrants intended to settle in six states — New York, California, New Jersey, Illinois, Texas and Massachusetts.[9]

Illegal Aliens

A major and growing problem associated with immigration is that of illegal immigrants. It is impossible to estimate precisely how many escape detection; but, during 1971, over 420,000 deportable aliens were located. This figure is larger than the number of immigrants who entered legally during the same period. Estimates place the number of illegal aliens currently in the United States between one and two million. Most are men seeking employment. Because the number of illegal aliens apprehended has risen dramatically (from less than 71,000 in 1960 to over 400,000 in 1971), the number of aliens in

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illegal status has probably been increasing significantly. Also, the problem has been spreading from the southwest, along the Mexican border, to all the major metropolitan areas across the country.[10]

The economic problems exacerbated by illegal aliens are manifold and affect the labor market and social services. It is often profitable for employers to hire illegal aliens for low wages and under poor working conditions; these workers will not risk discovery of their unlawful status by complaining or organizing. Thus, illegal aliens (who usually take unskilled or low-skilled positions) not only deprive citizens and permanent resident aliens of jobs, but also depress the wage scale and working conditions in areas where they are heavily concentrated. Although many aliens enter the United States in order to work and send much of their earnings back to their families and homeland, others are not as fortunate in finding jobs and can be a drain on public welfare and social services. Because of the illegal and precarious nature of their status, these aliens are ready prey for unscrupulous lawyers, landlords, and employers.

"...an aggressive enforcement program must be developed along all borders and ports of entry."

Eight out of 10 illegal aliens found are Mexicans. Most of the others are Canadians and West Indians, although there are also sizeable groups of Portuguese, Greek, Italians, Chinese, and Filipinos. Their countries were affected by immigration policy changes in the 1965 Act, and there is considerable demand and pressure for immigrant visas. The flow of illegal immigrants could probably be reduced if the number of permanent residence visas were increased, the economic incentive for hiring illegal aliens were eliminated, and/or the economic advantages of obtaining a job in this country were reduced. In any case, an aggressive enforcement program must be developed along all borders and ports of entry. Any enforcement programs against illegal entry and possible laws against employment of illegal aliens must take special care not to infringe upon the civil rights of Mexicans, Mexican-Americans, and others who are legally residing here and working or seeking work.

Competition for Work

In addition to the adverse economic pressures caused by "illegal" aliens, it is possible that "legal" immigration could have a negative impact if not regulated carefully. It is the purpose of the labor certification program to ensure that immigrants do not compete with indigenous labor, particularly in periods and geographic areas of unemployment. But, only a small percent of immigrants are actually required to be certified. Since immigrants often have relatively high education and skills, there is an economic incentive for employers and institutions to favor them. This can work to the disadvantage of the native-born, particularly members of minority groups and women, who have traditionally been discriminated against and denied opportunities to upgrade their skills.

A flow of highly trained immigrants can mask the need for developing and promoting domestic talents — for example, in the medical field. Although medical schools have recently been expanding enrollments, a significant proportion of the demand for doctors is being met by immigrants trained abroad. It appears that, without the availability of these foreign doctors, the medical schools would be under greater pressure to increase their enrollment and to provide more educational opportunities for all Americans — particularly minorities and women. The fact that there are more registered Filipino doctors (about 7,000)[11] than black doctors (about 6,000)[12] practicing in the United States shows the inequities that can arise.

If immigrants are also favored in the unskilled and semi-skilled occupations, the discrimination should be attacked directly. Obviously, such discrimination may have other important sources which may not be affected by immigration policy. Thus, it is important to watch occupational trends, particularly in metropolitan areas, to ensure employment and development opportunities to racial and ethnic minorities. Traditionally, regardless of their ethnic origins, immigrants have started employment at the lowest levels and worked their way up to gain a measure of affluence. For various reasons, blacks have not benefitted equally. Special

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attention to career advancement programs and promotion practices, as well as hiring, is needed to permit blacks to travel the same economic path and have the same opportunities as immigrants.

Recommendations

The Commission believes that it is imperative for this country to address itself, first, to the problems of its own disadvantaged and poor. The flow of immigrants should be closely regulated until this country can provide adequate social and economic opportunities for all its present members, particularly those traditionally discriminated against because of race, ethnicity, or sex.

Thus, the Commission believes that an effectively implemented and flexible labor certification program is necessary to ensure that immigrants do not compete with residents for work. Immigration policies must react quickly to change in domestic unemployment rates and in occupational and geographic shifts in the labor force. Also, national manpower planners and immigration officials ought to be aware of the more subtle form of discrimination related to immigration. A readily available source of trained professionals from other countries may slow the development of domestic talents and the expansion of training facilities. While this importation of talent may be economical for the United States, it is not fair either to the foreign countries that educate the professionals or to our own citizens — particularly those minority groups and women whose access to professional training and economic advancement has been limited.

In order for Congress and immigration officials to consider these economic problems, apply appropriate regulations, and expect the economic conflicts to be alleviated, they must also eliminate the flow of illegal immigrants. As has been shown, the economic and social problems associated with illegal immigrants have reached significant proportions.

The Commission recommends that Congress immediately consider the serious situation of illegal immigration and pass legislation which will impose civil and criminal sanctions on employers of illegal border-crossers or aliens in an immigration status in which employment is not authorized.

To implement this policy, the Commission recommends provision of increased and strengthened resources consistent with an effective enforcement program in appropriate agencies.

"The flow of immigrants should be closely regulated until this country can provide adequate social and economic opportunities for all its present members..."

While the elimination of illegal aliens will alleviate the acute problems associated with immigration, there is still the question of the legal immigrants and their demographic impact. The Commission recognizes the importance of the compassionate nature of our immigration policy. We believe deeply that this country should be a haven for the oppressed. It is important that we be in a flexible position to take part in international cooperative efforts to find homes for refugees in special circumstances. In addition, we should continue to welcome members of families who desire to join close relatives here. Our humanitarian responsibilities to the international community require consideration of matters beyond national demographic questions.

Because the immigration issue involves complex moral, economic, and political considerations, as well as demographic concerns, there was a division of opinion within the Commission about policies regarding the number of immigrants. Some Commissioners felt that the number of immigrants should be gradually decreased, about 10 percent a year for five years. This group was concerned with the inconsistency of planning for population stabilization for our country and at the same time accepting large numbers of immigrants each year. They were concerned that the filling of many jobs in this country each year by immigrants would have an increasingly unfavorable impact on our own disadvantaged, particularly when unemployment is substantial. Finally, they were concerned because they believe that immigration does have a considerable impact on United States population growth, thus making the stabilization objective much more difficult.

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The majority felt that the present level of immigration should be maintained because of the humanitarian aspects; because of the contribution which immigrants have made and continue to make to our society; and because of the importance of the role of the United States in international migration.

The Commission recommends that immigration levels not be increased and that immigration policy be reviewed periodically to reflect demographic conditions and considerations.

To implement this policy, the Commission recommends that Congress require the Bureau of the Census, in coordination with the Immigration and Naturalization Services, to report biennially to the Congress on the impact of immigration on the nation's demographic situation. ■

NOTES

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[2] See note 1.

[3] Richard Irwin and Robert Warren, "Demographic Aspects of American Immigration" (prepared for the Commission, 1972).

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[9] See note 4.

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[11] J. N. Haug and B. C. Martin, *Foreign Medical Graduates,* American Medical Association, 1971. On professional immigration, see also Judith Fortney, "immigration Into the United States With Special Reference to Professional and Technical Workers" (prepared for the Commission, 1972).

[12] Estimate based on figures appearing in: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1970.*

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Otis L. Graham, Jr. is a professor of history at the University of California at Santa Barbara; Roy Beck is Washington Editor of The Social Contract. *This item ran in several black-owned newspapers, and a similar version appeared in the* Los Angeles Times.

IMMIGRATION'S IMPACT ON INNER CITY BLACKS

By Otis L. Graham, Jr. and Roy Beck

In all the weary explanations of the devastating riots in Los Angeles, a major factor has escaped serious discussion. The white-dominated news media have been loath to discuss the role of unprecedented levels of immigration in the deteriorating economic and social conditions for African Americans who live in the nation's inner cities.

While the massive immigration provides cheap labor that benefits a well-to-do portion of Americans, it depresses living conditions for the working classes in ways that disproportionately harm black citizens.

Reluctance to speak frankly in the first days after the riots was perhaps understandable; one would not want to be misunderstood and invite more conflict at a time when calming inter-group and inter-racial fears was primary.

"This country has a long and sad history of allowing the massive importation of low-skilled foreign workers to displace African-Americans..."

But the time has come for clear thinking and candid talk about what 27 years of massive immigration has done to blacks. We should not have to rediscover that immigration in large numbers widens the divide between wealth and poverty, storing up social dynamite. This country has a long and sad history of allowing the massive importation of low-skilled foreign workers to displace African Americans, though most black contemporary leaders have lost or renounced the ability to speak about this difficult reality. Now events seen on television expose the issue, and we must learn to talk about its dynamic and its cure.

Booker T. Washington dared do that in his famous 1895 Atlanta Exposition address. He implored his audience of powerful white industrialists to open factory jobs to the underemployed freed slaves and their descendants, not to the incoming millions of immigrants. "Cast down your bucket where you are," was his memorable phrase. The country did not listen. Finally, in 1921, Congress (for other reasons) drastically curbed immigration, unintentionally giving blacks a wider opportunity to enter at least portions of the structure of higher-wage industrial jobs.

But in 1965 when the Civil Rights Act provided for major political advancement, Congress revised the immigration law, once again allowing millions of foreign workers to pour into our inner cities.

The effect on lower-skilled urban blacks has been devastating. The more than 25 million immigrants and their descendants since 1970 have flooded the unskilled labor markets causing poor wages to decline to still lower levels, according to labor economists such as Vernon Briggs of Cornell University. Businesses and governments have had little incentive to upgrade jobs and productivity through technology, capital expenditures and more efficient management. Nor have they had any pressure to train disadvantaged blacks to take the higher paying jobs that would have been created. As former U.S. Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall has said, massive imports of cheap foreign labor have led too many businesses to pursue a Third World low-wage strategy.

Adding insult to the black L.A. residents is that they must contend not only with traditional white racism but with intense discrimination through what Philip Martin of the University of California at Davis calls ethnic networking. Recent immigrants achieve positions of authority within a business and begin to recruit relatives, friends and acquaintances from their country of origin. Wages and working conditions stagnate or decline in the firm. Often the language of

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the workplace changes from English. Blacks are thus effectively barred from employment.

In myriad ways, blacks find themselves trapped in inner cities where tribalism is rising. Affirmative action and other remedies, originally intended to redress two centuries of exploitation of and discrimination against blacks, now must be shared with recently arrived, foreign-born populations that outnumber them.

Several aspects of the riots point to the taboo truth that there has been too much immigration and too much diversity, all of it happening at much too fast a pace. A social speed limit has been exceeded. It's time for a moratorium.

Interestingly, a moratorium on importing foreign workers would also benefit recent immigrants, whose working conditions tend to be most harmed by additional immigration. Stopping most immigration for awhile would be a relatively easy, cheap and extremely popular way to begin to improve the lot of recent immigrants as well as to boost the status of inner city blacks.

Immigration reform to lower the immigration numbers will not in itself solve the complex problems of Americans of black, brown, yellow or white skin color who are caught in the growing urban pathology. Much more needs to be done, and we are beginning that debate. But without frank discussion and action on the immigration dimension of urban problems, no combination of the other meritorious ideas coming forward will ultimately work. ■

Was It Diversity?

"As you may know, I've just returned from a weeklong trip to Japan. ...In the midst of all our discussions of international affairs, I was asked many questions in Japan about the recent events in Los Angeles. From the perspective of many Japanese, the ethnic diversity of our culture is a weakness compared to their homogenous society. I begged to differ with my hosts. I explained that our diversity is our strength. And I explained that the immigrants who come to our shores have made, and continue to make, vast contributions to our culture and our economy. It is wrong to imply that the Los Angeles riots were an inevitable outcome of our diversified society."

— Vice President Quayle
Speaking in San Francisco
May 19, 1992

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This article appeared in the Christian Science Monitor *on May 28, 1992. It is reprinted by permission of the author, who is a Washington reporter.*

THE PROBLEMS STILL FACED BY UNSKILLED WORKERS

By Paul R. Wieck

America's unskilled workers, forgotten faces in the 1992 presidential race until the riots in South Central Los Angeles, may now get the spotlight. They're less apt to get help. They make up the bottom 15 percent of the work force and have little access to power.

Their problems are chronic and tied to systemic disruptions in our economy — shifting trade patterns, uncontrolled waves of immigration, our monetary policy.

Their income lagged in the oil-embargo days of the 1970s. The unskilled also suffered in the 1980s under the tight money policies of Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul Volcker, who tried to wring all OPEC-induced inflation from the economy. He did — but threw the U.S. into a deeper recession in 1982 than he intended or the Reagan White House expected.

"The unskilled faced not only a surplus of bad jobs but a surplus of less skilled workers in an economy that needed skills."

Unskilled workers are most vulnerable in a recession and in 1982 they fell more than anyone thought — and did not catch up in the boom years of the late 1980s when middle-income workers had modest gains and upper incomes doubled or tripled. Along with inflation and a recession, the unskilled faced a more serious threat — erosion of the job market. The unskilled faced not only a surplus of bad jobs but a surplus of less-skilled workers in an economy that needed skills.

That surplus included millions of unskilled immigrants who have arrived in recent decades — many of whom are here illegally. Even now, legal immigrants include more unskilled workers, often family members of immigrants already here.

Illegal workers often live in crowded, marginal housing, and bid down the wage scale in local markets. This competition for low-paid jobs feeds the rage of native blacks and Hispanics in neighborhoods like South Central Los Angeles.

Polls suggest most Americans — blacks and Hispanics alike — want illegal immigration stopped; power brokers don't.

Supply-side conservatives see immigration as an asset even if it depresses wage scales by creating a kind of third-world labor market. They argue such labor spurs growth and creates jobs for the unskilled.

Many liberals regard immigrants, legal or illegal, as tomorrow's voters. Question this political strategy and you are likely to be called a racist. Major political gains have been made in ethnic communities over the last 20 years as a result of immigration — new House seats in a half dozen states plus hundreds of local offices.

Pat Buchanan is the only presidential candidate arguing control of U.S. borders. But he wrapped it in a sad isolationism.

Now President Bush seems ready to take a tough line on enforcing immigration. He insisted illegal aliens who rioted in Los Angeles be deported, either before or after they serve a sentence for breaking the law. Attorney General William Barr estimates a third of the 6,000 arrested for looting and rioting are illegal aliens.

Mr. Barr takes a hard line on enforcing the ban on hiring illegal aliens. He's beefed up efforts to curb the flow across U.S. borders, through international airports, and in ports. Barr fined an Atlanta firm $1 million for hiring illegals, a record figure.

This suggests the problems the unskilled have with immigrants could become an issue in the election.

Unskilled workers had another problem in the

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1980s: companies that fell prey to leveraged buyout artists who sucked the assets out of firms and left behind shells burdened by junk bonds carrying high interest rates. When they couldn't make the interest payments on these bonds, firms shut down and jobs disappeared. AFL-CIO officials say 90,000 union members lost their jobs in the 1980s due to mergers, buyouts and takeovers.

Our trade policies often cost unskilled workers their jobs. Foreign firms dump goods on our market at below-production costs, violating GATT rules. There are legal remedies, but market can be lost before steps are taken to stop the dumping.

Efforts to stop dumping practices are often held up or die in the White House. The case of copper is typical. The world market for copper had collapsed, but Chile, anxious to avoid worker unrest, upped production in its mines and dumped its excess copper on the world market at below the cost of production. Mines and mills in Western states were shut down, leaving thousands of workers jobless.

The copper industry won a ruling against Chile, but cold-war priorities outweighed its copper interests. President Reagan, on the advice of the Defense and State Departments, ruled it less costly to finance the right-wing Pinochet government by letting Chile dump its copper than by sending dollars to Chile.

Now our unskilled work force faces the threat of a North American Free Trade Agreement that may send thousands of jobs to Mexico, and, it is argued, keep many potential immigrants at home. The tradeoff, NAFTA supporters say, will be an increase in our pool of skilled jobs.

There's no reason to believe our unskilled workers will be trained for the new skilled jobs, or that illegal immigration from the Pacific Rim or countries in Latin America or Africa will be stemmed if a free trade zone is set up with Mexico.

Lots of remedies have been suggested. Some say employers need a tax incentive to hire and train unskilled workers. Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp wants enterprise zones in inner cities that offer tax incentives.

Democratic ideas include spending on public works projects, job training, housing, education. Laudable. But most unskilled workers want a steady job, a fair salary, and a safe neighborhood. ■

On Minority Rights

Even if minority rights do not conflict with more general ones, they may still be considered undesirable. A country with lots of immigrants may argue that, if it is to hold together, it cannot let all minorities be educated in their own tongues or promote their own cultures in preference to the national one. Were the United States to adopt that policy, it might well see the evolution of a Spanish-speaking majority in much of the west, leading in time to claims for the secession of Arizona, California or Texas.

Even the right of parents to educate their children in religious schools, which is usually regarded as basic, can have a cost. Who can doubt that it contributes to the hatred between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland? School segregation by religion may be fine where religious feelings run low; where they run high it breeds divisiveness.

— From an editorial in the London-based *The Economist* of June 13, 1992

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Samuel Francis is a columnist with The Washington Times *whose material is distributed by Tribune Media Services. Reprinted with permission..*

BONFIRE OF THE BORDER VANITIES

By Samuel Francis

The race is on to cast the blame for the five days in May of the Los Angeles riots, with conservatives claiming the Great Society did it and liberals making out it was the Reagan budget cuts.

Meanwhile, hardly anyone has considered the role of illegal immigration in helping to deliver America's second-largest city to the furnace of anarchy. This is too bad, for while politicians and ideologues exploit the riots for their own purposes, Americans can expect only further disorder unless illegal immigration is halted.

One group that does understand how immigration helped ignite the L.A. tinderbox is the Federation for American Immigration Reform. FAIR's executive director, Dan Stein, points out that, according to Attorney General William Barr, more than 30 percent of the persons arrested in the riots were undocumented persons.

"Hardly anyone has considered the role of illegal immigration in helping to deliver America's second-largest city to the furnace of anarchy."

"For 20 years," writes Stein in a letter to the California congressional delegation, "Congress has ignored the devastating impact of unmanaged illegal immigration on the wages, working considerations and opportunities for poor, urban Americans. It's time to stop pretending that ill-managed immigration policies are a free lunch."

But the economic damage of mass immigration isn't the only problem it causes. The rootless mass of recent immigrants themselves constitutes kindling for urban violence. East Los Angeles, the part of the city where relatively long-established Mexican-Americans live, was largely spared by fires and fury that devoured other parts of the city.

But, as *The Washington Post* reported last week, "The Latino neighborhoods and businesses that bore the brunt of the devastation were largely communities of recent immigrants living in the South Central Los Angeles area, Koreatown and Hollywood, where Hispanics occasionally outnumber blacks." One Hispanic county supervisor notes that recent immigrants who rioted "weren't people protesting the (Rodney) King verdict." Their main concern was loot and destruction pure and simple. And why not? It wasn't their country that burned, was it?

Nor were the L.A. riots the first to be fueled by ethnic and racial conflicts arising from immigration. Almost exactly a year before, the District of Columbia's Mount Pleasant area went up in flames after a black police officer shot an Hispanic suspect; and Miami also has reaped the fruits of multiculturalism in its own race riots. The real problem of racism in the United States, as former Colorado governor Richard Lamm, now candidate for Senate, has noted, comes not from white-black animosities but from the hatreds, misunderstandings and alienation that rise out of a racially fragmented society.

"One lesson of history," writes Lamm, "is that all successful nations have a social glue that holds them together. Nations must have a common language and a common core of assumptions and beliefs. We need only look at Lebanon, Sri Lanka, Quebec, the Balkans, to observe what happens when people don't develop a common core and believe in a common destiny. Societies that don't melt fragment."

Or, it might be added, if they don't fragment, it's because they're held together only by force, like the multicultural and multi-ethnic empires of ancient times and the late, unlamented Soviet Union. In Los Angeles, it was force that put the city back together again and soon, if not already, it will be force alone that holds it and other American megalopolises in one piece.

Moreover, as demographer Leon Bouvier writes in his recent study, *Fifty Million Californians?*,

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published by the Center for Immigration Studies, "No other industrial nation, let alone state, has ever experienced such a dramatic shift in its ethnic composition" as California will undergo in the next 20 years due to high levels of immigration and the changes in fertility that come with it.

"Seldom, if ever, has a longtime dominant majority seen its population base erode to the point that that majority becomes just another minority." Aside from the obvious and profound cultural impact of such a change, it doesn't augur well for California's or the nation's economic future.

"Will the increasing share of immigrant workers, many without a high school education and with a limited knowledge of English, entrench a dual economy and society?" asks Bouvier.

How long can technological progress persist if the population base lacks the educational and language skills to maintain it?

So, far from being an endless free lunch, uncontrolled immigration is more like the last meal of the condemned prisoner. Unless Americans learn to control it, Los Angeles' lost weekend may point the way toward America's lost future. ■

Under Consideration at Last

Immigration has not been a topic for open consideration over the past decades, so it is refreshing to find a source of materials for a debate on the issue. Greenhaven Press has produced a series of 60-plus titles from "Animal Rights" to" Euthanasia" to "Violence in America." Each book is designed to present all facets of an issue and to juxtapose writings from spokespersons on both sides. Designed to foster critical thinking and the evaluation of sources of information, the series is nonetheless an excellent source of materials in an area of policy-making.

The book on "Immigration" in the *Opposing Viewpoints* series is well-crafted and features the historical debate, the effects of immigration on America, the reform of U.S. immigration policy, the position to be taken concerning illegal immigrants, and how legal immigrants should be helped to assimilate. Under each of these headings, writings have been selected to set up a "debate" that can go on in the reader's mind. These are extremely well-chosen, fair and representative. Readers of *The Social Contract* will recognize such authors as Gerda Bikales, Richard Lamm, Dan Stein, Wayne Lutton, Rosalie Pedalino Porter, Garrett Hardin.

The conclusion of each section of the book features questions to aid in identifying an author's position and his or her stereotypes, along with help in evaluating the information presented. The appendix gives a list of articles in periodicals, a bibliography, a list of organizations concerned with the issues, and a brief chronology of events in the history of immigration to the United States.

The *Opposing Viewpoints Series* is published by Greenhaven Press, Inc., PO Box 289009, San Diego, CA 92198-0009. Phone (800) 231-5163. Paperback copies are $8.95.

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Edward Luttwak is a policy analyst at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. A frequent consultant with the Department of Defense, he is known for the book, The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire. *He is writing a new book,* The Third-Worldization of America. *The item below appeared as an op-ed piece in* The New York Times *on May 15, 1992.*

THE RIOTS: Underclass vs. Immigrants

By Edward N. Luttwak

Early on, President Bush blamed the welfare system for the Los Angeles riots, and his logic was impeccable. Historically, populations that lost their traditional economic roles — peasants without lands, nomads without pastures, hunters without prey — were soon killed off by the famine.

In Los Angeles, however, as elsewhere, public assistance prevents starvation, keeping alive the unskilled in the underclass who have been losing traditional jobs as laborers, janitors, maids, waiters, gardeners, etc. Such low-wage jobs, despite small prospects of advancement, did offer an economic toehold.

Racism may be America's most persistent disease, and the Rodney King verdict provided the occasion for rioting, but what happened in Los Angeles can be more fundamentally explained as the outcome of a purely economic phenomenon — the loss of traditional underclass jobs to more educated workers and immigrants

Squeezed between the two, the underclass has been losing its few breadwinners. Thus, it is not the riots that are surprising but rather the semblance of tranquility in most places, most of the time.

Why many employers prefer to hire immigrants is no mystery. Even if they know no English, they are mostly free of an underclass stigma, whether urban black or rural white. Some have useful skills, and almost all are deferential, an attitude that is more attractive to employers than the resentment many underclass job-seekers show.

The only mystery is why leaders who claim to speak for the black underclass are so silent. But even that is not much of a mystery. From Jesse Jackson down, wider political ambitions induce black leaders to betray the uppermost interests of their poorest followers in order to coalesce with Hispanic groups that oppose all serious effort to contain immigration.

The poaching of traditional underclass jobs from above is significant for its wider implications. In Washington, even waiters and waitresses tend to be white high school graduates, often with some college education, and all over America permanently laid off industrial workers have taken such traditional underclass jobs as janitors and warehousemen.

Short-term effects of the recession aside, it is the reduction in trade barriers, falling transport costs and the global diffusion of technology that has brought all this about. Measured in constant 1982 dollars, the average hourly earnings of all non-farm, non-supervisory employees were $8.03 in 1970, $7.78 in 1980, and $7.53 in 1990.

Moreover, from rubber workers to flight attendants, entry-level wages are now lower than a decade ago, without allowing for inflation. Of course, it is the less skilled who have increasingly been deprived of better-paid industrial jobs.

The much-celebrated globalization of our economy could have had quite different results if more and more capital had been invested to provide U.S. workers with superior equipment and if public education and industrial training had been constantly upgraded to preserve their skill advantage. Because none of this has been done, as a result of deliberate political choices, growing numbers of less skilled Americans have been impoverished, their propensity to seek underclass jobs has increased and lifetime unemployment has become more common among the underclass.

Racism, police practices and gangs were all significant in Los Angeles, but the rioting was more fundamentally a symptom of national economic failure. Only if the working class stops pressing the underclass down can those on the bottom have any hope of rising.

In light of such fundamentals, it is frivolous to place primary blame on the welfare system or police brutality. ■

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Lawrence E. Harrison, the author of Underdevelopment Is a State of Mind: The Latin American Case *(1985), has directed development programs for AID, the U.S. Agency for International Development. His most recent book is* Who Prospers? How Cultural Values Shape Economic and Political Success *(Basic Books). This article is reprinted by permission from* The Washington Post, *January 12, 1992.*

THOSE HUDDLED, UNSKILLED MASSES

By Lawrence E. Harrison

High levels of immigration, legal and illegal, have not produced the positive economic results that growth-minded advocates have expected. For four decades, we have accepted vastly more immigrants than any other advanced country. Yet despite the big start the U.S. economy enjoyed after World War II, our average performance measured over the last 40 years has been among the worst of the developed nations, roughly comparable to Britain's. Many other factors explain the decline of U.S. competitiveness, but the low-skill immigration of recent decades has surely not been helpful, except to labor-intensive businesses that have profited from the supply of cheap labor — leaving the community at large to pick up the social costs.

Of course, many proponents of large-scale immigration are motivated by humanitarian rather than economic concerns, the potentially adverse impact on American citizens notwithstanding. I'm reminded of a comment made about her own country by Australian sociologist Katharine Betts in her book, *Ideology and Immigration*: "Humanitarianism became the chief goal of immigration for some people and immigration itself came to be seen as a form of international aid. ...The relatively poor in this country pay a disproportionate share of the cost of the conscience of the rich."

In *The Competitive Advantage of Nations* Harvard economist Michael E. Porter stresses the contribution skilled immigrants can make to "the principal economic goal of a nation — a high and rising standard of living." But he goes on to note that large-scale immigration of the unskilled may retard the process.

During the past forty years, America outpaced all other developed countries in population growth. Immigration, legal and illegal, has been a major contributor to that growth. Since 1950, 20 million people have immigrated legally. No one knows how many have entered illegally. Estimates range from 5 million to 8 million. In the wake of liberalizing legislation in 1990, upwards of 1 million immigrants are now entering annually.

Over this period, U.S. immigration policy has emphasized political concerns — e.g. Cuba, Vietnam — and family relationships, not skills, and has done little to curb the vast flow of illegal immigrants. The result, as George Borjas concludes in *Friends or Strangers*, has been that "the skill composition of the immigrant flow has deteriorated significantly in the past two or three decades."

"...cheap labor encourages investors to use labor-intensive means of production, and that means slow or no technological advance and further slippage in our competitive position."

The loss of competitive advantage of many U.S. products in recent decades is importantly the consequence of the slow growth of labor productivity. This is partly the result of low levels of U.S. research, development and investment compared with our principal competitors, Japan and Germany. But it is also the consequence of a labor force relatively unskilled by comparison with Japan's and Germany's — a labor force whose real income has been declining while the incomes of Japanese and German workers have been increasing. American wages are no longer the highest in the world.

In fact, the United States now emphasizes relatively cheap labor — a good part of it available because of immigration — much as Third World countries do. Aside from the retreat from the objective of a rising standard of living implicit in it, cheap

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

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labor encourages investors to use labor-intensive means of production, and that means slow or no technological advance and further slippage in our competitive position. The resulting slow overall growth of the economy has meant lower federal, state and local revenues. Porter notes, "The ability to compete despite paying higher wages would seem to represent a far more desirable national target."

I want to repeat that immigration is but one of several causes of our economic malaise. But it is not an insignificant one.

Some researchers, Borjas among them, have concluded that immigrants — legal or illegal — do not compete with native-born Americans, although they do compete with other immigrants, including many who have been here long enough to become citizens. More recent studies, including those of Rice University's Don Huddle, conclude that immigrants do indeed compete with natives, especially when unemployment is relatively high.

Immigration proponents argue that immigrants — particularly illegal immigrants — accept wages and working conditions that citizens, even poor citizens, wouldn't. Even accepting that argument, the obvious implication is that employers would have to pay more and provide better working conditions if there were an ample supply of immigrants. But, in fact, there are cases of displacement, for example in Los Angeles, where building maintenance workers, mostly black, have been displaced by immigrants, mostly Mexican. Moreover, immigrants may well compete with citizens for low-cost housing — which means higher rentals — and public services, including education.

"The problem of refugee/ immigrant demand for services has been particularly acute in Massachusetts, where the Dukakis administration adopted a policy of insuring the availability of all state services to refugees."

Several researchers, for example the Urban Institute's Thomas Muller and Thomas Espenshade, have also studied the extent to which immigrants are a burden on public budgets, e.g. welfare, social services, subsidized housing, education. Two principal conclusions emerge: 1) what most immigrants pay in taxes does not cover the costs of the services they receive, particularly when education is included; and 2) the downward trend in immigrant skills has been accompanied by an upward trend in their use of public assistance.

The problem of refugee/ immigrant demand for services has been particularly acute in Massachusetts, where the Dukakis administration adopted a policy of insuring the availability of all state services to refugees, and both the state and the city of Boston provided many services to immigrants without reference to the legality of their status.

Massachusetts consequently became a magnet for immigrants. Between 1980 and 1990, the Hispanic population more than doubled to 288,000, while the Asian population almost tripled to 143,000. The treatment of immigrants did not become a really hot issue until the sharp downturn in the state's economy and the resulting budget crisis. Now there can be no question that immigrants compete with needy citizens for drastically-reduced public services.

We are a society imbued with Emma Lazarus' words on the Statue of Liberty: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free." When the statue was dedicated 105 years ago, some 60 million people lived in the United States; the frontier was still open, and an open immigration policy clearly suited our needs. Today, our population is more than four times greater, the frontier is long gone, and population growth is a principal contributor to the environment that so preoccupies us.

Congress passed a law in 1990 that increases legal immigration by 40 percent. Congress took this action in the face of repeated polls showing an overwhelming majority of Americans — including 74 percent of Hispanic Americans and 78 percent of black Americans in a 1990 Roper survey — opposed increased immigration.

Despite new emphasis on skills in the 1990 legislation, more than 70 percent of legal newcomers will enter because they are related to naturalized citizens, resident aliens, and former illegal immigrants who qualified for the amnesty provisions of the 1986 immigration act. The large majority of both legal and illegal newcomers will arrive with few skills.

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The Haitian boat people are a case in point. Almost all have risked their lives in leaky vessels to reach the United States. While some of the earlier boat people were refugees from Duvalier political persecution, the fact that the flow increased over the previous year's during the eight months when President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the landslide populist winner of the 1990 election, was in office, demonstrates that most seek economic opportunity and social services that vastly exceed what their homeland offers.

"...the fact that the flow [of Haitian refugees] increased over the previous year's during the eight months when President Aristide ... was in office, demonstrates that most seek economic opportunity and social services..."

A 1985 study of recent Haitian immigrants in Florida revealed the following: average years of education were 4.6; 5 percent were high school graduates; 82 percent had limited or no English; 93 percent had limited or no knowledge of the United States; 63 percent were unemployed; 29 percent were receiving welfare aid.

While there must always be room in our immigration policies for dealing with cases of special hardship, in a world in which hundreds of millions of people would gladly come to our shores, choices must be made. No immigration policy can remedy the failures of other nations to meet the needs of their poor, so it is both sensible and moral to base our policies primarily on the needs of our own society, particularly economic revival and raising the standard of living of our poorer citizens. That means a significant reduction in legal immigration, redoubled programs to control illegal immigration, and an upgrading of the skills of those immigrants we accept.

These measures won't solve America's economic problems, but they will certainly help. ■

〈해 외 시 사 만 화〉

올리팬트作
유니버설 프레스紙

로스 엔젤레스 경찰 훈련지침: 그들이 당신들보다 숫자가 많으면 자세를 수정하시오.

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LOS ANGELES AS VIEWED FROM KOREA

By Robert Kyser

The Social Contract asked Thom Duvernay, who currently works in Korea, to send us copies of the English language *Korea Times'* coverage of the riots in Los Angeles. Most of the articles detailed the disturbance (triggered by the acquittal of police officers accused of beating motorist Rodney King) as reported by Reuters News Service. Additional stories came from such sources as reports to the Korean Foreign Ministry from their ambassador in Washington and from their consulate in Los Angeles. In Washington, the Korean ambassador urged the U.S. government to help protect the lives and property of Korean Americans but also urged that the area where Korean shopkeepers were targeted for looting and burning be part of a redevelopment district. There was some concern expressed that the rebuilding of the area, to be headed by Peter Uberroth, would undercut Korean shopkeepers in favor of larger chain stores being located there.

Editorial comment on Saturday, May 2nd described Koreans in Los Angeles as being in an unfortunate position between the white majority and the justifiable anger of blacks. The timing of the incident was unfortunate since a Korean store-owner had just been given probation for the shooting death of a black girl the Korean had accused of shoplifting. After lauding America's history as "the land of opportunity" and "the land of immigrants" which has "most successfully built and operated a democratic political system" the editorial acknowledges that "wicked part of human nature" which can foster hate and discrimination based on skin color.

In reading such material, one becomes aware of how much the world looks to the United States as a leader in experiments to create a society which successfuly absorbs persons from various races and cultures. While willing to grant that the conditions among blacks in America's cities are worsened by economic and social conditions, especially high unemployment, the editors of the *Korea Times* fault the failure of white U.S. citizens, both politically and individually, to repent of their mistreatment of blacks. But they also had advice for Korean-Americans who "must realize that they are living in a country with a multi-racial composition and cannot live alone. This means Koreans have to learn to develop good working relationships with other races, particularly blacks. ...In this respect the ghettoizing of Koreatown ... may not have been a good idea," they wrote.

"[Koreans in the United States] need to admit that they have grafted onto their already intense ethnocentrism white America's worst stereotypes and prejudices toward blacks."

The paper published an essay by a young Korean studying in the U.S. for his doctoral degree in history deploring the failure of Korean-Americans to protest the actions of the Korean shop-owner who killed the black customer, and admonishing his fellow countrymen that Koreans in the United States "need to admit that they have grafted onto their already intense ethnocentrism white America's worst stereotypes and prejudices toward blacks." He went on to suggest that whites open doors to reform, that blacks look to themselves for self-development, and that Koreans become better neighbors to their customers and citizens of their communities.

Other news stories from Seoul indicate that large amounts of aid are on their way to Koreans who are without income in Los Angeles, and that there may well be small business loans from Korean banks. There was even a comment here and there that ROK troops should be sent to L.A. to protect the lives and property of Korean citizens.

Mr. Duvernay says that during the riots, all attention was focused on Los Angeles. "Many envisioned the whole country on fire," he writes. "I pointed out to them that the same distortion happens concerning student demonstrations in Korea being viewed by the outside world." ■

[Notice the Oliphant cartoon that the Korean newspaper chose to use during their coverage of the Los Angeles riots — facing page.]

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Denis McCormack is one of the principal activists on immigration reform in Australia. He helped found the political party called Australians Against Further Immigration and, as its candidate, stood for election to parliament in a recent by-election. While failing to gain office, his candidacy helped open up the discussion of the immigration topic, which in turn contributed to the changes he discusses here.

AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION PROGRAM CUT IN HALF — A TEN-YEAR LOW

By Denis McCormack

> *Immigration mistakes are big mistakes. They don't go away. They only get bigger.*
>
> —Meyer Burstein, Director Strategic Planning and Research Directorate, Canada Employment and Immigration Commission

Back in November 1990, as I sat through a couple of days of conferencing hosted by the Australian government's Bureau of Immigration Research, Meyer Burstein's above-quoted comments went politely unnoticed by the predominantly pro-immigration and ethnic-industry audience. Such candor from an immigration industry bureaucrat is a rare gift. Seldom do their public statements strike such accord with observable reality or public opinion.

In 1990 we saw the first tentative trimming of Australia's immigration program, the numbers of which had been arbitrarily drifting upwards for some years and had reached 170,000 in 1989-90. Further cuts followed in 1991-92. The details of the 1992-93 program reductions and modifications continuing the trend were officially released on May 12, 1992.

Under the sobering cold shower of recession, even some people in big business — the hard core of the pro-immigration growth lobby — began adding up the costs to industrial productivity and the public purse of English language training, unemployment, health and other welfare benefits that were directly attributable to immigration — figures which immigration reformers had been stressing for some years. Nor had the massive costs associated with city building and infrastructure establishment for the newcomers been so easy to finance in a country burdened with escalating and increasingly frightening foreign debt repayments. Indeed, a growing number of influential economists (including the Labor Government's own recently-resigned Finance Minister, Peter Walsh) came to believe the 1980s immigration excesses to be a significant contributing factor in the nation's declining economic fortunes.

The environmental movement is currently clearing its throat in readiness to rearticulate the common sense on population it espoused a decade ago. Environmentalists appear poised to engage the internationalist utopian element within their ranks, which, in recent years, has paralyzed the movement's logic with the all-too-familiar name-calling when population issues have been raised.

When, on May 12th this year, Immigration Minister Gerry Hand took to Cabinet a recommendation that the numbers for 1992-93 be cut by 31,000, to a gross figure of 80,000, he reported the "best support" for any proposal he had ever taken to Cabinet. Non-dependent relatives (a category which includes cousins, nieces and nephews) faces the biggest cut — from 19,000 to 6,000. The independent skills category, which has never matched with labor market needs, has been cut from 30,000 to 13,400. The humanitarian component is down from 12,000 to 10,000. Stricter requirements in the independent category and concessional family category (which covers non-dependent relatives) are among key program changes. English will be required for independent and concessional category entrants. Full or partial up-front fees for English-language training will be a prerequisite for those with poor or no English; however, those applying for entry on humanitarian grounds, and preferential family grounds, will be exempt from the language requirements.

Predictably, the Housing Industry Association,

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along with ethnic lobby groups, objected to the cuts. The opposition Liberal Party [more or less the equivalent of Republicans in the U.S.] had been seen in recent times to be leading the Labor Government in the push for lower numbers and, in response to the latest reductions, claimed that the cuts didn't go far enough. The downward bargaining between the two major parties is being viewed with some relish by a public whose opinion, when polled over the last decade, revealed an increasing majority in favor of lower numbers. That opinion was consistently ignored on a bipartisan basis, allowing the numbers to drift upward unchallenged and unchecked.

As compelling as the environmental/ economic/ socio-cultural arguments for immigration reduction may be, the general unease about immigration policy and multicultural policy is bound to continue. Some rather novel and as yet unexplained redefinitions of the "national identity" and the "national interest" are currently taking shape at elite levels — way above the heads and out of the earshot of ordinary Australians, the vast majority of whom, along with their children and grandchildren stand to lose much (if not all) as a result of such far-reaching socio-cultural and ethnic policy experimentation.

"...when polled recently, Australians by a clear majority did not see themselves as 'part of Asia' nor are they in favor of 'integration with Asia.'"

The new Australian Prime Minister, Paul Keating, has significantly raised the ante by actively promoting a new economic and cultural orientation for the nation's future. He calls it "integration with Asia." Foreign Affairs Minister Gareth Evans pushes similar top-down views in his recent book, *Australia's Foreign Relations in the World of the 1990s*. In effect he outlines the way Australia's foreign affairs, regional trade, and defense policies, when artfully conflated with immigration and multiculturalism policy, can bring about far-reaching and irreversible change to Australia and Australia's future — whether they know about it, or like it, or not! Minister Evans states: "We are, whether fully recognizing it or not, engaged in nothing less than the re-shaping of our national identity..." and "...all of this is going to take time to convert into mainstream, popular sentiment in Australia." Germane to these comments is the fact that, when polled recently, Australians by a clear majority did not see themselves as "part of Asia," nor are they in favor of "integration with Asia." In 1991-92 over 50 percent of all immigrants into Australia were of Asian origin, which reflects the recent shifts in immigration policy emphasis.

There is some fierce political maneuvering happening around and within immigration/ multi-culturalism policy-formulation circles at present. The night the Immigration Minister, Mr. Hand, released details of the 1992-93 program he appeared on a widely-watched current affairs TV program. He admitted that the granting of temporary residency to 34,000 Peoples Republic of China students and their dependents after the Beijing-Tienamen Square massacre could lead to a chain-migration flood of 300,000 relatives, should all those in Australia take up their options under the family-reunification component of the program. Mr. Hand's comments followed a recent revelation that Prime Minister Keating had made a pledge, in a letter to a local Chinese-language magazine, that those who had been told after the massacre they could stay on a four-year visa could now settle permanently.

Is it any wonder many Australians question the long-term strategic planning and social engineering policies already in place, when these were never adequately canvassed in the broader community?

While immigration is down, it is clearly not yet out. Immigration reformers have joined forces from across the political spectrum in Australia. Their efforts have earned for the nation some valuable time to think things through. The argumentation they have put to the government, to the opposition, the media and the public over recent years is well-developed and philosophically sound. While it cannot be eroded, it could again be ignored in pursuit of the redefined "national interest." Given the clear majority of public opinion on immigration, multiculturalism, and integration with Asia, the stage seems set for a period of political instability as yet unknown to Australia.

Immigration mistakes are not the only big mistakes governments can make, but they manifestly have the capacity to both create and magnify many other problems. We ignore them at our peril. ■

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Ira Mehlman heads the Writer's Support Group at the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR). He attended the U.N. conference he reports on here. Previous articles by Mr. Mehlman appeared in the Fall 1990 and Summer 1991 issues of The Social Contract.

AVOIDING THE OBVIOUS

POPULATION GROWTH LEFT OUT OF U.N. CONFERENCE ON COPING WITH INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

By Ira Mehlman

In a recent *Washington Post* profile, Senator Albert Gore, America's leading environmentalist politician, leveled some harsh (and probably politically-motivated) criticism at the Bush administration and a complacent American public on the eve of the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. "Our society is becoming conversant with the concept of denial, which is a mechanism at the boundary between thought and feeling which induces a kind of artificial blindness and amnesia," stated Gore.

What Gore was lamenting is a growing tendency to avoid discussing nettlesome problems or making unsettling changes in the way we live, even as we all acknowledge that we are hurtling headlong and full-speed toward disaster. Though the senator's criticism was directed at the United States, it is evident that the same sort of willful blindness and reluctance to tackle tough issues is an international affliction. Two vital global issues — international migration and global warming — were the topics of U.N.-sponsored conferences in the spring of 1992. The items that weren't discussed at these meetings, the issues that were avoided either deliberately or by tacit agreement, are as important as what was talked about at the U.N. conferences.

Chief among these taboo topics is the issue of population growth. During the May 6-8 conference "On International Aid as a Means to Reduce the Need for Emigration," sponsored by the U.N.'s International Labor Office and the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees in Geneva, Switzerland, the global population explosion was simply not part of the formal agenda.

Whether that omission was by design or merely an oversight is unclear. It's hard to imagine, however, that in all the planning that went into a three-day conference on the global migration crisis, no one thought to include a discussion of the root cause. In light of the revelation that there was a concerted effort on the part of the Vatican to keep the population question off the agenda at Rio, it seems all the more implausible that the failure to address the topic in Geneva was anything but a deliberate attempt to avoid a contentious issue. Instead, the conference focused on the seemingly noncontroversial — promoting economic development in countries of large-scale emigration. "Economic development" has become the holy grail of our age: a high-minded goal we can all agree upon — but one that cannot be achieved.

To its credit, the Geneva conference made a serious effort to establish some rational guidelines for administering international development aid in a way that actually benefits people in impoverished countries. Throughout the years of the Cold War, international aid had far more to do with geo-political strategy than helping nations or individuals throw off the shackles of poverty. There was also a consensus among both the emigrant-sending countries and immigrant-receiving countries that without tangible results, the future of international development aid could be jeopardized.

Unfortunately, however, political and economic reforms in the developing world — while they are laudable objectives — by themselves will be of little consequence. The simple fact is that their populations and their labor forces are exploding at such an astounding rate that no amount of foreign aid will have more than a marginal impact on the condition of the Third World. Democratization and official respect for human rights will soon be beyond the capacity of many Third World governments, even if they were inclined to institute reforms.

As populations explode, governments in the impoverished regions of the world are becoming increasingly irrelevant. In Peru, for example, which

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recently experienced political upheaval and an end to its democratic experiment, much of the nation was already beyond the control of the government. In Lima's shanty towns and squatter camps, social and economic power had long since devolved from official government entities. At the time of the military coup, as much as 40 percent of the country's economy was unregulated, untaxed and unanswerable to Peru's official government. Throughout much of the developing world similar subterranean economies and social structures already exist and threaten to supersede the formal power structures. Massive population growth is leading to tribalism and a new form of feudalism, neither of which is conducive to democracy or respect for human rights.

The three days of discussion about how to target development aid so that it has maximum benefit was an interesting, but in the end, pointless exercise. It was somewhat akin to a prolonged discussion about how many buckets should be purchased to collect the water coming through a leak in the roof, without ever talking about how to fix the hole in the roof. What's more, both of the prime sponsors of the conference, Michel Hansenne, Director General of the ILO and Sadaka Ogata, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, as much as said so in their opening remarks.

ILO Director-General Hansenne stressed that the size of the developing world's population and labor force is the greatest obstacle to overcome in reducing international migration. Countries of the developed world "are reluctant to open their borders to what they see as the South's or the East's unlimited supplies of unskilled labor."

Ambassador Ogata went even further in capsulizing the problem of international migration when she observed:

> *Worldwide, some up to one billion people are now estimated to live in conditions of absolute poverty. Millions of new jobs need to be created each year in developing countries simply to offset demographic growth. As presently constituted, development assistance can, in my view, only hope to have a marginal impact on the staggering economic problems of the Third World and on the broader problems of migration associated with them.*

While Ambassador Ogata candidly conceded that pouring massive amounts of development assistance into countries whose population growth far exceeds their potential for economic growth was an exercise in futility, that is precisely what was discussed during the subsequent three days. In almost a non sequitur that seemed to set the tone for the discussions that followed, Ambassador Ogata in her very next sentence opined that, "A comprehensive, long-term strategy embracing trade measures, increased development assistance and debt relief is urgently needed if we are to have any real hope of redressing this situation."

"At the root of the international migration crisis is population growth. Until and unless that condition is dealt with, no amount of development aid ... will stem the flow of people seeking economic opportunity..."

Thus, while asserting in one breath that growth in the size of the Third World's labor force is the crux of the problem, she inexplicably avoids calling for international assistance in controlling population growth as a necessary prerequisite to coping with the problem. Not only was population control not cited as the cornerstone of such efforts, as it logically should have been from her analysis of the problem, it was not even an item on the U.N. High Commissioner's list of remedies.

If, as Mrs. Ogata claims, "development aid can ... only hope to have a marginal impact" on the conditions that are behind the unprecedented wave of human migration, what was the purpose of the exercise? Why assemble the world's leading experts for a three-day conference to discuss strategies that will do little to manage the problem, much less solve it? At the root of the international migration crisis is population growth. Until and unless that condition is dealt with, no amount of development aid, no matter how wisely administered, will stem the flow of people seeking economic opportunity and relief from oppression. It was not until the very end of the second day of deliberations that anyone even suggested that development aid ought to include funds for population control, and then it was mentioned only in passing. Dr. Ercan Uygur, a

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Turkish scholar, suggested that one of the ways its European neighbors could help his country "is to contribute to programs that promote reduction in population growth."

To truly comprehend the futility of discussions that focus on development aid rather than on controlling population, one need only look at the U.N.'s own data. In 1990, the population of the developed world was 1.2 billion, while the underdeveloped world had a population of 4.1 billion. By the turn of the century, the developed world will add about 60 million people, while the underdeveloped nations will have added nearly a billion new people. Thus, the Third World will add the equivalent of nearly the entire developed world's population in just one decade. If one looks at longer term projections to 2025, the population of the developed world is expected to reach 1.35 billion and the underdeveloped world will have a population of 7.15 billion. (These, by the way, are considered conservative projections.)

"Beyond the simple fact that international aid could never keep up with demographic growth in the Third World, it could also be a suicidal pursuit."

If those U.N. projections are anywhere near accurate, the talk of development aid becomes almost laughable. There isn't enough money, jobs cannot be created fast enough, nor are there sufficient resources in the world to keep pace with that kind of population growth. It is sheer delusion on the part of the developed nations to believe that they can pump enough development aid into emigrant sending countries to convince people to stay at home. According to a report issued by the ILO itself several weeks after the conference, one-third of the world's current labor force — about 800 million people — is either unemployed or working at marginal jobs. Merely coping with the task at hand would be a monumental achievement, much less with the billions of new workers who will be entering the labor market unless controlling population becomes the primary focus of attention.

Beyond the simple fact that international aid could never keep up with demographic growth in the Third World, it could also be a suicidal pursuit. As noted by Rudolf Weiersmuller, the Swiss Ambassador for International Refugee Policy, if the Third World ever attempted to model its development after that of the West, it would have a cataclysmic effect on the health of our planet. The world's three leading economic powers, the United States, Japan and Germany, account for 8.5 percent of global population, but 30 percent of the world's carbon dioxide emissions. Conversely, China and India, the two most populous nations on earth account for 37 percent of world population and only 14 percent of CO^2 spewed into the atmosphere. We would surely destroy the earth's environment long before these two nations ever achieved economic parity with the industrialized nations.

In an ironic twist, the "solutions" to the crisis discussed in Geneva are precisely the causes of the crisis discussed in Rio. It seems to defy logic that one arm of the United Nations would meet in May to promote the kind of development another arm of the U.N. was scheduled to try to contain in June. Yet, because a frank and rational discussion of the root cause of both the migration and environmental crises — exploding human population — was off the table, both conferences are likely to achieve marginal results at best.

There is no mystery about the causes of mass migration and severe environmental degradation. They are, in fact, malignant symptoms of the same disease: overpopulation in the South and East and overconsumption in the North and West. They are problems that may prove beyond our capacity to solve, but they are certainly not beyond our ability to recognize.

Much of the underdeveloped world (with the now overt encouragement of the Vatican) either can't or won't control their population growth. President Bush, the leader of the developed world, has made it clear that the affluent nations are not prepared to make any significant sacrifices to reduce their disproportional consumption of resources and environmental damage.

And so we have a stand-off. Rather than talk about the real issues, we talk about peripheral matters, careful not to call on anyone to make any real sacrifices. The developed world talks vaguely about economic assistance it can't afford and which

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the environment cannot sustain. It refuses to consider true reform of its own industrial and economic infrastructure and a more equitable use of the world's resources. The underdeveloped nations continue to show little resolve in controlling population growth which makes any hope of a better life for their citizens impossible. Instead they have opted for the post-Cold War version of Mutually Assured Destruction in which the developed countries must pay them not to destroy the rain forests and must absorb at least a part of their overflow population.

In the end, avoidance of the core issues will doom the well-intended attempts to come to grips with the twin crises of mass migration and environmental destruction. High-minded discussions about effective administration of international development assistance will not stop the flow of migrants seeking a better life in the developed world, nor will they stop the devastation of our environment. The world must be willing to address the root cause of the phenomena it seeks to alter, regardless of whose sensitivities it might offend. A world of 5.5 billion people, which is awash in migrants and drowning in and choking on its own waste, cannot continue to add a billion people to its population every decade.

The Geneva and Rio conferences were called because the peace and health of our planet are in jeopardy. With the stakes that high, it is irresponsible not to address the population question. It is the least we owe to posterity. ■

Another Look at Birthplace and Status

In a new book, Dr. Nadia Youssef details the shifts in the composition of foreign-born people who have taken up residence in New York State since 1965. The author, a demographer at the Center for Immigration and Population Studies at the Staten Island campus of the City University of New York, draws a demographic and socio-economic profile of the state's foreign-born. Dr. Youssef relates birthplace to socio-economic status variables, thus providing a clearer picture of how various groups are faring.

The book is *The Demographics of Immigration: A Socio-Economic Profile of the Foreign-born Population in New York State* by Nadia H. Youssef, Staten Island, New York: Center for Migration Studies, 182 pp., $19.50 (hardcover), $14.50 (paperback).

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Ms. Burke is a demographer and economist who has consulted for the World Bank. She has written extensively on women's issues, reproductive health, and medical ethics. This essay is from the "My Turn" column in Newsweek *of February 24, 1992, and is reprinted by permission of the author.*

THE MOST POLITICALLY INCORRECT TOPIC

By B. Meredith Burke

Imagine if 25 years ago someone had identified lung cancer as a major problem, had pinpointed smoking as a major contributing factor, had even quantified its effects — and then had assumed that people's smoking behavior was a timeless "given." What would you call the failure to ask two questions: is smoking a changeable behavior — and if yes, how do we get people to quit? In non-academic terms I would call it a cop-out.

Politicians, planners and concerned citizens in my state of California keep debating how to solve such worsening problems as urban sprawl, environmental degradation (including the paving over of prime agricultural land), traffic congestion and bulging school enrollments. They correctly identify the growth of population from 10.6 million in 1950 to 20 million in 1970 to 30 million today as the major underlying factor. But the debate never rises above "managing growth" to the more global questions: is population growth an eternal "given" and, if not, what is needed to stop it?

"There is no 'tolerable' growth rate. Either all growth stops, or the size expands until our natural resources run out."

California Gov. Pete Wilson has said that "we will have to minimize the magnetic effect of the generosity of this state." But when asked if our state can support not only 30 million but 40 million or 50 million people, he could only point out that freedom of residence is constitutionally guaranteed. In other words, states do not control their population size. The federal government does. Immigration and refugee policies are federal responsibilities.

But both the executive and the legislative branches are fashioning policy with barely a nod to the resultant American demographic future. In 1965, when Congress overhauled the Northern European-biased country-of-origins policy that had ruled immigration quotas since 1921, it was unclear what the effects would be. No one asked then: by how much will immigration increase? Where will the new pool of immigrants settle? Should we set a date to evaluate the effects of the new immigration and survey citizen and local-area response?

No 'Tolerable' Growth

When Congress expanded the immigration quota from 500,000 to 700,000 in November 1990, the effects on America's future again went unexamined. Alan Simpson, who led the Senate's action, represents Wyoming, the state that ranks 51st in population among the 50 states plus the District of Columbia. His state is not among the six whose home population will be appreciably affected. California, New York and Florida absorb more than 50 percent of immigrants; Texas, New Jersey and Illinois absorb an additional 20 percent.

A demographic rule of thumb is that the doubling time of a population can be calculated by dividing 70 by the annual percentage growth rate. Between 1950 and 1990 we grew from 150 million to 250 million people. Today a 1 percent growth rate adds 2.5 million people annually; in 70 years it may well add 5 million people — every year and primarily in the same few locations. There is no "tolerable" growth rate. Either all growth stops, or the size expands until our natural resources run out.

Last winter demographers Dennis Ahlburg and James Vaupel published U.S. population projections that differed sharply from those of the Census Bureau. Based on what I consider much more realis-

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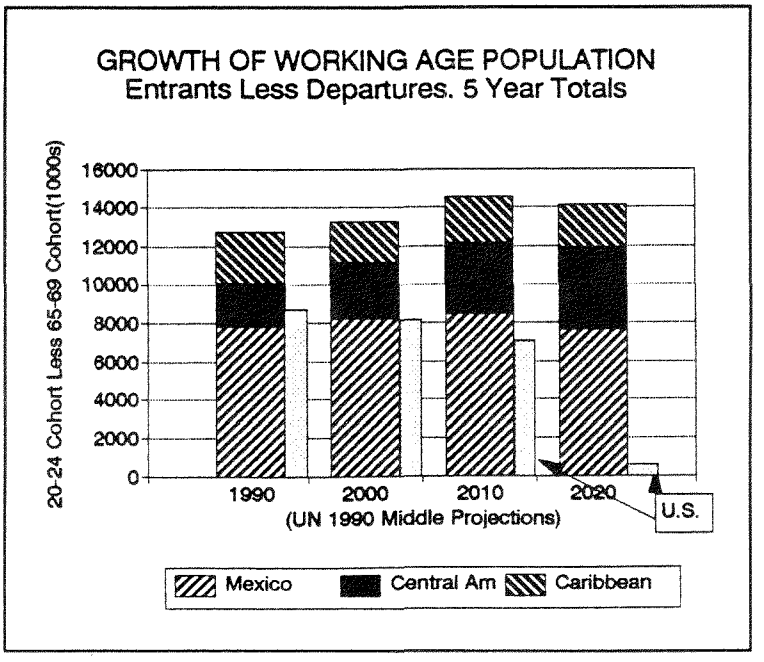
tic assumptions about future mortality, fertility and immigration, their three most reasonable estimates for the year 2080 are 487 million, 539 million and 611 million Americans. Projections should be viewed as blueprints offering a still-modifiable future. On the heels of Earth Day 1970, after Congress and President Nixon received the report of their special Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, both activists and legislators failed to enlist the public in debating the alternative scenarios presented. Californians, city dwellers and farmers alike, missed the chance to tell policymakers that they did not want a state congested with 10 million more people within 20 years. Floridians lost the chance to keep remnants of the Everglades free from further encroachment and drainage.

Our physical habitat is being threatened by an immigrant flow that represents only 1 percent of Third World annual population growth. Curtailing immigration while voting generous family planning and nonmilitary aid packages can far better benefit citizens of the developing countries than the status quo. Americans must trade a national vision of a beckoning Statue of Liberty and a vision of wide-open spaces for a more realistic one of a world of limits and constraints.

Our demographic future is in our hands. Several routes could lead to a stationary population, including one-child families and moderate, continuous immigration; or two-child families and no immigration. If these models seem unappealing, we can go on with unchanging policies and end up with 550 million Americans, primarily in 20 urban areas in seven or eight states, in 2070 — and a billion Americans 70 years after that.

National Consensus

In short, demographic reality will not permit us to evade hard choices. We need a national consensus that those cities and states most affected by growth should have a decisive vote in shaping immigration policy. This may require a 27th constitutional amendment that will allocate immigration-setting power to the electorates. A lot of effort? Yes — but less than that required to support and govern a population of 1 billion Americans. ■



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Larry Auster is a New York-based writer, the author of The Path to National Suicide: An Essay on Immigration and Multiculturalism *published in 1990 by the American Immigration Control Foundation (AICF).*

NOT AN OPEN-AND-SHUT CASE

By Lawrence Auster

Immigration has emerged as a potent national issue in recent months as California Governor Pete Wilson's vocal concerns about the budgetary costs of immigration, plus Patrick Buchanan's restrictionist campaign platform, have compelled a reluctant media to recognize the growing anti-immigration sentiment in this country.

According to a recent Gallup poll, almost two-thirds (64 percent) of the American people say they would be more likely to vote for a presidential candidate who favored tougher laws to limit immigration. The restrictionists have complaints on several fronts. They argue that uncontrolled immigration — now at one and a half million people per year — is driving down wages and taking jobs, creating chaos along our southern border, causing an explosion of demand for social services at a time when state and local governments are being forced to slash budgets, swelling U.S. population growth (the highest in any industrialized nation) and exacerbating environmental problems, expanding the clientele of race-preference and multiculturalism lobbies, and threatening to turn America into a permanently fragmented society.

But notwithstanding the increasing unease felt by a majority of the country about current immigration policy, open immigration retains the status of a religious faith among the nation's political elites. The mainstream press, though it mentions immigration more frequently these days, automatically dismisses the restrictionist side. Opinion-makers prevent a true debate on the issue by labelling immigration critics as racist, lumping the views of Mr. Buchanan (and even the blandly moderate Pete Wilson) with those of former neo-Nazi David Duke.

Another way of foreclosing debate is to say that the restrictionists' stated concerns about immigration are not what they claim to be, but are a cynical political ploy — a way of scapegoating economic problems onto immigrants. "Is immigration merely being used as a scapegoat for the current recession by Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Duke, and Gov. Wilson?" asks John Dillin in the *Christian Science Monitor*. "Or is the growing level of immigration a legitimate issue that deserves wider attention among the public?"

'EXPLOITING THE ISSUE'

But having raised the possibility that immigration is a legitimate issue, Mr. Dillin immediately proceeds to crush it, filling his article with quotes from liberal academics who say that criticism of immigration is nothing but scapegoating. "Duke and Buchanan are exploiting the issue," says one, "beating up on immigrants, most of whom are non-white, to make a subtle racial appeal to voters." "The immigration issue is phony," says another, "because immigrants take jobs that Americans won't take." "Immigration is a 'Willie Horton issue' says a third, "a way of blaming problems on someone of another race."

"That omission [the impact of large numbers of immigrants] made the restrictionist movement seem like a hysterical reaction to a non-existent threat, rather than an understandable response to a real problem."

Statements like these, repeated constantly in the media, spread the message that criticism of immigration is simply off-limits to intelligent and decent people.

In charging that restrictionist sentiment is a pathology that is not to be taken seriously on its own terms, journalists are drawing on the conventional wisdom of the social scientists. In his 1955 classic, *Strangers in the Land*, historian John Higham traced the anti-immigration movements of the late 19th and

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early 20th centuries as a projection of economic problems and other social distresses onto the immigrants. Unfortunately, Mr. Higham told only half the story — leaving out of his otherwise exemplary account the huge and unsettling impact of immigration on American society during the peak periods of nativist fervor. That omission made the restrictionist movement seem like a hysterical reaction to a non-existent threat, rather than an understandable response to a real problem.

THESIS REVISED

Recently, however, Mr. Higham has significantly revised his thesis:

> *We cannot ignore the fact that the two crises (of anti-immigrant feeling) — the crisis of the 1850s and the crisis of the 1920s — erupted at the peak of the greatest waves of immigration in American history. Several leading American cities in 1860 were half foreign-born. Not only the dramatic growth of the immigrant population but also the militancy of its leadership was unnerving. In the early 20th century, southern and eastern European workingmen — often under revolutionary leadership — were in the vanguard of the largest strike wave the United States had seen up to that time.*

Mr. Higham concludes:

> *Recovering tolerance and civic harmony depended in both instances on a period of relief from heavy immigration, during which an inclusive national enterprise could bring old and new Americans together.*

In other words, what John Higham described in his earlier work as nativist hysteria he now admits was a normal reaction to social upheavals caused in part by massive immigration; he further admits that when those problems were eased by reducing immigration, so was the "hysterical" response.

The point is that immigration restrictionism cannot be simply dismissed as "scapegoating," "exploitation," or any other symptom to be analyzed by the social psychiatrists, but that it is exactly what it claims to be — fear of excessive immigration and its social, cultural and political consequences. It is a view to be accepted or refuted on its own merits.

But here the open-border pundits resort once again to evasion. Even if the immigration issue is legitimate, they say, the way that restrictionists deal with it is not. For example, Jim Hoagland in *The Washington Post* speaks of how France's Jean Marie Le Pen "has cleverly exploited *the real social and cultural problems posed by immigration* (italics added) to legitimize xenophobic, anti-Semitic and racist appeals to voters caught in an economic squeeze." The implication is that there exists some "acceptable" way to speak critically about the immigration problem without "exploiting" it. But since that advice comes from the very people who have never spoken about immigration except in glowing cliches, and who have always stigmatized anyone who did find fault with it, one wonders what this "nonexploitive" way of discussing the issue might be.

FULL SPEED AHEAD

What the pundits really mean, of course, is that any serious criticism of immigration will not be allowed. That is, it's all right to acknowledge that "some" problems exist, as long as one concludes — despite those problems — that immigration must proceed full speed ahead. But if one raises the same problems as proof that immigration ought to be reduced, well, that's "exploitive."

"...it's perfectly acceptable for liberal educators to observe that immigration is creating unprecedented ethnic and cultural divisions in our society — so long as they conclude that this is a wonderful 'challenge'..."

This Orwellian double-think is a recurrent feature in the immigration debate. For instance, it's perfectly acceptable for liberal educators to observe that immigration is creating unprecedented ethnic and cultural divisions in our society — so long as they conclude that this is a wonderful "challenge" that we can meet by embracing "multicultural" education and a radically revamped national identity. It's OK for author David Rieff to declare that immigration has turned Los Angeles into a Third World city — so long as he calmly accepts that fact and urges his

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readers to do likewise. And no one minds when Mark Lagon and Michael Lind, writing in the neoconservative journal *Policy Review*, warn that growing ethnic separatism might cause the United States to break up into "several distinct nations" — since Messrs. Lagon and Lind immediately add the politically correct caveat that "tighter restrictions on immigration will not be the answer." But when a restrictionist like Pat Buchanan notices the very same facts — that massive Third-World immigration is turning us into a radically different and divided country — and logically concludes from those facts that immigration should be reduced — then Mr. Buchanan is attacked for being "crabbed," "ungenerous" and "xenophobic." (Now that the Buchanan campaign is fading, the press is only too happy to revert to its usual stand of ignoring immigration as a national political issue.) When it comes to dealing with the negative effects of immigration, only lip service (or complete surrender) is permitted.

TRICK IS NOT TO TALK

Yet even the half-dose of honesty described above is too much for some mainstream opinion-makers, who fear any open discussion of immigration-related problems. To be truly politically correct, the trick is not to talk about immigration at all — a modus operandi specifically recommended by the *Los Angeles Times* in a recent editorial.

The *Times*, while conceding the validity of Gov. Wilson's complaints about the crippling financial costs of immigration, nervously warned that the governor "could easily be misinterpreted as trying to *blame* immigrants for the budgetary problems." And how was he to avoid that danger? "What Wilson should do," the *Times* editors declared, "is discuss the troubling trend in state demographics." As Dan Stein of the Federation for American Immigration Reform pointed out in a letter to the editor of the *Times*:

> *Discussing demographic trends in California without talking about immigration is like discussing the American trade deficit without mentioning Japan. Never before has any mainstream publication gone on record as urging an elected public official to engage in deliberate obfuscation.*

The above exchange gives an idea of how the immigration issue, fiercely guarded by racial taboos and the "nation of immigrants" ideology, has paralyzed the American mind. We, the ordinary people and the leaders of this country, need to start treating immigration as we would any other political question, weighing its benefits as well as its disadvantages, and then acting accordingly. But in order to do that, we must first stop thinking of immigration as some sort of secular god. ■

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This article appeared as an op-ed piece in the June 23, 1992 issue of the Wall Street Journal. *The issue of* The National Review *referred to is that of June 22, 1992. Mr. Ferguson is an editorial writer and one of the main advocates of the paper's editorial policy advocating a constitutional amendment stating that "there shall be open borders." Reprinted with permission of* The Wall Street Journal, *© 1992 Dow Jones & Company, Inc. All rights reserved.*

THE SLEEPER ISSUE OF THE 1990s AWAKENS

By Tim W. Ferguson

A centennial renewal of America's great immigration debate is under way. Skirmishes in recent years were just a prelude. The U.S. must decide again a fundamental question — is it enough to embody principles without common roots as a people?

History repeats. In the 1890s, amid a still-building rush of foreigners to U.S. shores, political groundwork was laid for what, over the next 30 years, would become tight curbs on entry to this country. The lid stayed on until 1965.

Since it came off, at least 20 million have entered and added babies. The reaction has finally come. In its current issue, *National Review*, the largest circulation conservative magazine, devotes 16 pages to an argument against continued dilution of the traditional American stock. A more esoteric quarterly of the right, the *National Interest*, is doing much the same.

Off the radar screens of the mainstream media, a sometimes crude but legitimate (not KKK or skinhead) anti-immigration lobby has assembled in parts of the U.S. for more than a decade. Now it has made an intellectual breakthrough. It doesn't yet have a *Saturday Evening Post*, the primary restrictionist organ of the early 1900s, but it can no longer be ignored.

Why is this news? After all, conservatives rarely have been friendly to mass immigration. Border protection long has attracted an unusual mix of progressives, unionists and traditionalists. But as the *National Review* article laments, the establishment right in the U.S. generally has welcomed the multitudes over the past two decades. This fact is commonly ascribed to simple class exploitation, although for most in the idea trades, it's been more an expression of resurgent classical liberalism that upholds unhampered exchange in nearly all its forms.

Open access to the Land of the Free has had no greater champion than this newspaper [the *Wall Street Journal*] and capitalist circles have basically applauded. Commercial interests apparently approved of the last influx as well — until about 1914, according to one scholar from the era, when disturbances linked to immigrants caused business to switch.

Today, too, it will matter whether the titans of finance and industry, and for that matter the shopkeepers, (many of them foreign-born), join the current backlash. It cannot be said that *National Review*'s author, Peter Brimelow, represents a convert to containment. The *Forbes* journalist has long had national integrity weighing on his basically libertarian mind. And by "nation," this soon-to-be-naturalized American (from Britain, via Canada) means "the grouping of a like people." The U.S., by this standard, is even further from being one nation — even further, argues Mr. Brimelow, than during the peak influx of 1901-1910.

By any measure, the ethnic composition of the U.S. is undergoing a dramatic shift because of the new arrivals and their usually higher fertility rates. One alarmed specialist projects barely 60 percent of the overall population will be non-Hispanic white by 2020.

To Mr. Brimelow and some others on the right, this foretells a changed U.S. character and economic deterioration, as nationals with endemically lower levels of scholarship and output constitute more of the American mix. Such sentiment was part of the mainstream debate even 50 years ago, but the establishment right until lately had banished such talk of eugenics to the fringes.

Renewed emphasis on origins and limits could

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herald an attack on both the quotas for legal immigration, which with refugee and asylum cases now numbers nearly a million a year, and on illegal entries — totals unknown.

Legal slots could be tailored more to the types of immigrants considered likely to be successful in the U.S., because of skills or schooling or existing wealth or their home country's track record. This screening, particularly the last kind, offends those who think an individual's initiative to hazard a long trek and border crossing is measure enough.

"...the dominant concern in middle-class America, whose votes will ultimately decide the issue, is the dependency associated with immigration: welfare, schools, medical care and jails."

In any case, preferences are no panacea. Canada and Europe employ them (while allowing refugees) yet are just as divided over immigration. Moreover, picking people who will add to the national wealth (and the values that support it) is no easier than choosing winning technologies. Were all those Koreans — or peasants who bred valedictorians — a good bet?

Meanwhile, illegal entrants aren't subject to the law's finer points. Barring and uprooting them is likely to come down to firepower, and the will to threaten it on borders and in cities.

For businesses relying on legal and illegal low-wage labor, such a push would change the terms of trade. Few could expect to find replacements at anywhere near the going wage, if at all. Mr. Brimelow & company say too bad, cheap workers discourage capital investment.

The claim that sustainable jobs are being taken by immigrants, or more believably that unskilled wage levels are depressed by the alien pool, is still alive. However, the dominant concern in middle-class America, whose votes will ultimately decide the issue, is the dependency associated with immigration: welfare, schools, medical care and jails.

Those factors were all raised in the last great debate, but with the quantum growth in government since, they are now controlling. Unless drastic steps are taken to reduce the uniform level of taxpayer-provided services, immigrants are likely to be singled out to take the cuts full force.

Likewise, the perceived failure to assimilate into American life, attributed to virtually every immigrant group at one time or another, has been given new importance by the multiculturalism movement. The last time around, "Americanization" campaigns, supported by powerful U.S. civic institutions, sought unevenly to address this. Properly handled, encouraging inclusion and citizenship, they could ameliorate current conditions.

Another way to rub the left wrong but hold the right tight would be to emphasize a temporary worker visa program. "Bracero" has a bad name, but a formal entry channel that allowed law-abiding, self-sufficient workers to build up points toward permanent residency and family resettlement could appeal as a compromise.

When U.S. prosperity subsides, so does immigration historically. Still, no surcease is likely to keep immigration from being a political battle-ground, absent other preoccupations. If there is a wish in 1992 to "take America back" from some alien force, it is easy to see the literal connection being drawn. Pat Buchanan appeared to get some response to his anti-immigrant ads in California, and Texas Sen. Phil Gramm is talking up the issue for later.

My hunch is that it comes to a head sooner — in a tight race for the White House this November. Despite his recent bow to the "melting pot," I can see it sewn into the nationalism of H. Ross Perot. ■

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Polls show that Hispanic opinion on immigration mirrors that of the general population, favoring stricter border control, as this essay shows. Mr. Rodriguez is a retired college professor from Long Beach, California. © Hispanic Link, distributed by the Los Angeles Times Syndicate.

CLOSING MEXICAN BORDER COULD BE A BLESSING

By Raymond Rodriguez

Close the border! Does anyone even dare to suggest such a thing?

Few thoughts or ideas are as vile or as repulsive to Latinos, especially those of Mexican extraction. To advocate closing the border is akin to disavowing one's family. Anyone who would suggest such a move is no *hijo de pais*, not a loyal son. How in good conscience and by all that is holy can anyone do such a thing and still look in the mirror without feeling utter revulsion?

Close the border, indeed. What next, genocide?

Actually closing the U.S. borders is not as far-fetched a scheme as it may first appear to be. Closing our borders is not to be confused with sealing them by erecting moats or walls, as some zealous individuals insist should be done. In fact, the issue of controlling illegal immigration should be an integral part of the proposed free trade agreement among the United States, Mexico and Canada.

Regulating immigration is as important as enacting agreements to control trade and pollution of the environment — and for many of the same reasons. The violation of a nation's territorial integrity, its safety and well-being cannot be tolerated. The human tide flowing across our northern and southern borders makes a mockery of our international boundaries.

Although only a combined effort will eliminate the problem, there are several things the United States can do to control the situation. Based on study and personal observations, including some drawn from spending a night recently with the U.S. Border Patrol at work in California, I offer these thoughts:

• We must press Mexico to locate its new industrial plants away from our southern border. While building factories along the frontier is convenient for U.S. business firms, it compounds the immigration problem. The plants act as irresistible magnets, drawing people to the border areas in search of steady work and better wages. Once there, crossing over into the United States is simply a continuation of the journey. As long as the plants are there, the people will come.

Then it is up to the understaffed U.S. Border Patrol to deal with the problem. To be effective, it would have to double its personnel and change its tactics. Now it allows hundreds of persons to mass on the U.S. side of the border and wait for the cover of night. No attempt is made to deter them from entering in the late afternoon or early evening. By nightfall, the numbers that have gathered are so vast, it is impossible to cope with them.

"The mission of the Border Patrol needs to be clearly defined. Instead of fragmenting its limited forces, it should concentrate its interception efforts..."

• Secondly, the Border Patrol should not allow undocumented persons to penetrate well into U.S. territory before attempting to intercept them or turn them back. The rationale is that it is easier to cut them off or capture them after the terrain channels them into the *barrancas* — dry gullies. Unfortunately, mother nature is neutral. She simultaneously betrays the unwary and provides shelter to the canny. The *coyotes* know all the hidden nooks and crannies. Even on the most fortuitous night, 50 percent or more of those entering illegally escape capture.

• Third, the effectiveness of checkpoints established on major highways miles from the border and manned sporadically has long been the subject of controversy. Once again it is a question of too little, too late. The mission of the Border Patrol needs to be clearly defined. Instead of fragmenting its limited

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forces, it should concentrate its interception efforts where they will do the most good. The natural point of deterrence is at the border itself. The help and cooperation of both nations in policing their sides of the border must be aggressively pursued.

Altering the role and operation of the Border Patrol will significantly reduce the number of people gaining surreptitious entry. The United States will then be able to police its borders and regulate immigration That is not possible at the present time under a piecemeal, uncoordinated system. Both our southern and northern borders are sieves through which people literally pass at will.

While Latinos, and particularly Mexicans, are reluctant to support closing the border, their opposition is based primarily on emotional factors. They need to consider the long-range benefits that will accrue. Fewer undocumented immigrants means more jobs and better pay. The socio-economic status of those already here will decidedly improve.

And best of all, once their own situation stabilizes, those who arrived legally will be able to help family and relatives enter the country the same way. Thus rather than a curse, closing the border could be a blessing. ■

Joint Resolution of the 102d Congress

Designating the week beginning October 20, 1991 as
"World Population Awareness Week"

Whereas the population of the world today exceeds 5,000,000,000 and is growing at an unprecedented rate of approximately 90,000,000 per year;

Whereas virtually all of this growth is occurring in the poorest countries, those countries least able to provide even basic services for their current citizens;

Whereas the demands of growing populations have contributed substantially to enormous environmental devastation and pose threats of even greater harm to the world;

Whereas one-half of the 10,000,000 infant deaths and one-quarter of the 500,000 maternal deaths that occur each year in the developing world could be prevented if voluntary child spacing and maternal health programs could be substantially expanded;

Whereas research reveals that one-half of the women of reproductive age in the developing world want to limit the size of their families but lack the means or ability to gain access to family planning;

Whereas the global community has for more than 20 years recognized that it is a fundamental human right for people to voluntarily and responsibly determine the number and spacing of their children and the United States has been a leading advocate of this right;

Whereas the demands of growing populations force many countries to borrow heavily and sell off their natural resources to cover the interest on their debt;

Whereas selling off natural resources in such circumstances often causes irretrievable losses, such as the destruction of tropical rain forests at a rate of 50,000 acres per day;

Whereas the reliance of a rapidly growing world population on burning fuels is a critical factor in the emission of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere, which many scientists believe has already catalyzed a warming of the Earth's climate;

Whereas pollution is damaging the ozone layer to such an extent that within 40 years the amount of ultraviolet light reaching our planet is expected to increase by as much as 20 percent; and

Whereas in 1990, the President proclaimed "World Population Awareness Week" nationally, and 38 State Governors proclaimed "World Population Awareness Week" in their respective States, to call attention to the consequences of rapid population growth, and the Congress also passed a resolution to that effect: now, therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the week beginning October 20, 1991, is designated as "World Population Awareness Week." The President is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate programs, ceremonies and activities.

(This resolution was officially approved on October 30, 1991, ten days after the observance was supposed to have begun.

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BARRIERS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

By the Editors of *American Legion Magazine*

Imagine a combat situation where an artillery strike is vital to your survival, but the soldier operating the 155mm howitzer doesn't understand English. Picture yourself as an employer. The applicant facing you can neither read nor speak English fluently. Would you hire him?

These scenarios may seem far-fetched, but unfortunately they underline a growing problem within the United States. "English is the key to economic opportunity in the United States," said Gary Sammons, Chairman of the Legion's Americanism Commission. "But our government does very little to encourage young immigrants to learn English. This tends to discourage them from entering the mainstream of American culture."

The American Legion has long been aware of this problem and has adopted a resolution addressing the situation. Res. 576, passed during the 1990 National Convention in Indianapolis, encourages legislation making English the official language for government in the United States.

Language barriers affect some regions more than others. Florida, Texas and California, where Spanish is commonly spoken, are especially aware of the problem. These states and others spend millions of dollars each year to hire bilingual teachers for their schools. The federal government has laws stating that ballots and other government documents must be printed in other languages, especially Spanish.

If the government demands that a school system hire bilingual teachers, why are children leaving school without the ability to communicate in the English language? "The problem is adult education," said sociologist Jim Boone, past Post Commander of Post 37 in McAllen, Texas. "Our teachers try to teach English to these young people, but when the student goes home, Spanish is spoken. It's a situation of 'this is the way my father spoke, and his father before him and you will speak this way, too.' The problem is, when that child leaves school to enter the job market, he or she won't be able to communicate. You can't develop much of a career if you can't communicate."

Another problem is the government's "Transitional Bilingual Education" program. The title is misleading. As the National Americanism Commission noted in Res. 576, foreign-born young people are not being taught English, but instead receive long-term education in their native languages, which may span from kindergarten through the high school years.

Citizens of Hispanic background are not the only victims. Vietnamese refugees, Chinese and other ethnic groups face similar problems. But by far, the largest segment of the American population today battling language barriers are the Spanish-speaking groups.

"Adults are afraid their children will lose sight of their ethnic heritage," Boone said. "By refusing to communicate or learn English, they are forcing their children into a situation that will not allow them to compete effectively in the job market."

Oddly enough, though based on good intentions, the federal government may share the blame for the difficulties facing immigrant Americans. "Bilingual education funded by the U.S. Department of Education tends to provide long-term instruction in a student's native tongue, while English is either ignored or secondary," Sammons said. "Programs like this encourage separatism that can set the stage for discrimination. At the same time, it costs the taxpayers in many ways."

Presently, federal law mandates a certain number of minority citizens from every labor pool must be hired by companies and institutions. Thus, if a job applicant is hired simply on the basis of ethnic background, but does not understand English, quite often that worker is ineffective on his job. Often, a non-English-speaking person cannot find work because of the language barrier, and the taxpayer once again foots the bill through welfare programs.

The American Legion believes many of these problems could be overcome if English were made the official language. The Legion is not alone; 18 states have passed legislation recognizing English as the official language. ■

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Lawrence Harrison's Who Prospers: How Cultural Values Shape Economic and Political Success *has just been published by Basic Books. He is also the author of* Underdevelopment Is a State of Mind: The Latin American Case *published by University Press of America.*

ENTREPRENEURS ARE MADE, NOT BORN

A Book Review by Lawrence Harrison

THE CULTURE OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP
Edited by Brigitte Berger
San Francisco: ICS Press
242 pp., $29.95

The virtually total discrediting of Marxist-Leninist economics has brought with it new attention to the crucial role of the entrepreneur in successful market economies, a role first highlighted by Joseph Schumpeter early in this century. Recent economic "miracles," particularly in East Asia, have underscored a related fundamental question first confronted by Max Weber, also early in this century: Why do some ethnic or national groups generate more wealth and well-being than others? Thirty years ago, the psychologist David McClelland reformulated the question to ask, in *The Achieving Society*, "Why do some ethnic or national groups produce proportionally more entrepreneurs than others?"

Brigitte Berger, a sociology professor at Boston University and wife of Peter Berger, director of the Institute for the Study of Economic Culture at Boston University, is the editor of a new book, *The Culture of Entrepreneurship*, that looks at entrepreneurship within a variety of intellectual and geographic frameworks. At the outset, she stresses a key point: culture, while durable, is not immutable. She notes "...the importance of cultural factors at work in entrepreneurship (as well as) the culture-producing capacity of the modern entrepreneur himself."

Professor Berger is the author of the introduction, which summarizes the work of the other authors who have contributed chapters that were written for a pre-book conference early in 1990. She has also contributed a very helpful chapter that reviews the evolution of cultural analysis of economic growth with emphasis both on the entrepreneurial role and the difficulty economists have had dealing with it and with culture more generally. She notes, and subsequent chapters support her, that small-scale entrepreneurs in today's world are not rugged individualists. For perhaps both cultural and pragmatic reasons, they tend to operate within complicated social webs in which the family plays an important role.

Don Lavoie, an economist at George Mason University, takes on the evolution of theories of entrepreneurship that challenge the individualist (or "Robinson Crusoe") view of many economists, a view that man is motivated by concern with maximizing satisfaction or wealth, a view that the human response to economic conditions is universal, immune to the intrusion of culture. He focuses particularly on the work of libertarian icons Ludwig von Mises, Friedrich Hayek, and Israel Kirzner, all of whom perceive cultural influences on entrepreneurship. He concludes endorsing the ideas of Hans-Georg Gadamer, who stressed the significance for culture of linguistic evolution: "...it is not so much we who speak language as language that speaks us."

Janet T. Landa, an economist at York University in Toronto, examines several "ethnically homogeneous middleman groups" who have played important roles in cross-cultural trade, e.g., Jews, Chinese, Indians, and Lebanese. She concludes that such groups have in common both a rigorous ethical code that is effectively enforced as well as highly-developed mutual aid networks. She also stresses that some ethnic groups clearly do better in these respects than others.

David Martin, a sociologist retired from the London School of Economics, explores the impact of Protestantism on Latin America. Conversion from Catholicism to Protestantism, particularly evangelical Protestantism, is arguably the most significant social phenomenon in Latin America during recent decades. As much as a fifth of Brazil's population is today Protestant. As Professor Martin notes, conversion to Protestant implies a rejection of the traditional Ibero-Catholic value system, e.g., machismo. While research on the comparative performance of

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Catholics and Protestants has not yet produced conclusive results, there is a presumption that Max Weber's conclusions about why Protestants did better than Catholics in Baden, Germany, early in this century will be confirmed.

Gillian Godsell, who teaches at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, shows how values and attitudes principally explain why Indian Moslems do better economically than blacks and Afrikaners in South Africa. Professor Godsell notes that, for the Indians, "Religion provides a general approval of business," one that is reinforced by encouragement of enterprise in child rearing. By contrast, "The most marked similarity between the black and Afrikaner groups lies in the distaste for business as an occupation, and their interpretation of Christianity as regarding money to be tainted."

Echoes of Professor Godsell's findings are found in a chapter on the entrepreneurial culture of Bengal and Eastern India by Ashis Gupta, who teaches at the University of Calgary. Professor Gupta conducted 31 interviews of entrepreneurs and notes patterns of achievement, especially among the Jain sect, that evoke the ideas of Weber. One Bengali entrepreneur evokes Schumpeter: "One of the greatest satisfactions is when you can conceive a plan, start a business, and find that it meets your projections and expectations. Here's something new that you, and you alone, have thought out." How different from the Hinduism-inculcated passiveness and fatalism noted by Gunnar Myrdal as a major obstacle to India's progress in *Asian Drama*!

The University of Hong Kong's S. G. Redding analyzes the economic miracle of Hong Kong, and by extension the overseas Chinese more generally. He observes that Confucianism has had a profound impact both for good and bad on Chinese entrepreneurship, noting that the power of the Confucian mandarins has both suppressed economic activity and encouraged an urge to control by ownership. This urge has been expressed not in the rugged individualism of Calvinism but in a social network where family and community have decisive importance. In this respect, the Redding chapter evokes Japan, which has also been profoundly influenced by Confucianism.

The revival of small business as an important engine of economic growth in Europe is explored by Richard Whitley of the Manchester Business School. He notes the tradition of small farm enterprise as an important foundation for the small-business phenomenon, as it was in Japan's Meiji Restoration in the last decades of the nineteenth century. But he also stresses "patterns of historical continuity and development, particularly with respect to family structures and trust relationships" in France and Italy. The long slide (until recently) of British small business — and we are reminded of America's economic decline — he attributes to "the relatively low social status of work in a manufacturing industry ... the preference for 'pure' science and the traditional humanities over more practically oriented subjects and skills in the universities; and the low status of the 'self-made man' in English culture since the late nineteenth century."

"...a culture of work ... is rather poorly developed in both the historical tsarist Russian and the contemporary Soviet social contexts." — Connor

Walter Connor, a Boston University political scientist, devotes the final chapter of *The Culture of Entrepreneurship* to the former Soviet Union, focusing on the evolution of private enterprise, particularly through cooperatives, since Gorbachev's appearance on the scene. His conclusions are — correctly in my view — not optimistic: "Over the long run ... the development or failure of entrepre-neurship on Soviet/ Russian soil will depend heavily on the broad culture — the support it offers or withholds from entrepreneurial activity ... a 'culture of work,' as well as a culture of entrepreneurship is rather poorly developed in both the historical tsarist Russian and the contemporary Soviet social contexts."

The Culture of Entrepreneurship is a very useful addition to the growing literature on the profound influence of values and attitudes — and the institutions that reflect them — on economic growth, as well as political and social progress. The wide geographic diversity of the book underscores the significance of culture for rich countries and poor countries alike. Its message is clearly relevant to the distress apparent in the American economy today. ■

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Edward Levy is a professor of music at Stern College, Yeshiva University in New York City. He is a long-time activist in population matters and a member of the Advisory Board of FAIR, the Federation for American Immigration Reform.

GLOBAL SWARMING

A Book Review by Edward Levy

CANNIBALS AND KINGS:
THE ORIGINS OF CULTURES
By Marvin Harris
Random House
Paperback (1991), $11.00

If more people knew what Marvin Harris does and could see linkages as clearly, more of us would see that population growth has an unmatched history of impelling the collapse of cultures. In this fascinating study of mankind's history, Harris presents cogent evidence, clear reasoning, crisp writing and compelling arguments to support his concept that a culture evolves in response to an area's conditions: successful *production* leads to increased *reproduction* which forces production to *intensify* until eventually the resources of that area are *depleted*. Then, either the culture collapses or it devises a new system of production, with its own forms of exploitation, violence and drudgery.

Marvin Harris, author of *Cannibals and Kings*, previously chaired the department of anthropology at Columbia University and currently is Graduate Research Professor of Anthropology at the University of Florida, Gainesville. He has been an influential anthropologist and is the author of 16 books, among them *Cows, Pigs, Wars and Witches* as well as *America Now: Why Nothing Works*, and *The Sacred Cow and the Abominable Pig*.

In his discussions of geography, food sources and population growth Harris notes not that causalities are inevitable, but that similar variables under similar conditions tend toward similar consequences. In the past, population growth has propelled people toward war, subjugation and infanticide (especially of females), widespread pauperism and despotism. A culture's initial success is marked by growth of its population — but a continuation of such growth signals and contributes to its impending failure.

Harris convincingly maintains that once a group has selected a habitat, production and reproduction increase until material and psychological needs are no longer met. Then, further growth forces a choice between intensifying production or limiting further growth. Intensification is by far the first choice. Citing examples as disparate as the Mayans and the Mideast, he shows that the price for the intensification that required, and was required by, a growing population led to the degradation of those areas still seen today.

First, the investment of more soil, water, chemicals, minerals and energy in response to threats against living standards depleted the immediate area; then, the expansion to less efficient and more distant land areas ultimately resulted in people living in misery in a larger, exhausted environment. At some point, then, limiting population became the reluctantly chosen alternative. Since methods like geronticide and the inducing of painful and dangerous abortion are ineffective in the long run, spacing pregnancies was more commonly used. But early people must have used other means, too: Harris calculates that, unchecked, the earth's population would have been 600 sextillion (that's 600 and twenty-one zeros) by the end of the 10,000-year Old Stone Age. The most prevalent solutions, then, have been war and infanticide.

Harris asserts that war served ecological and demographic purposes. Animals and plants can thrive in buffer zones between enemies. But since the males who survived the battles could have many wives, war cannot stabilize population; only limiting the number of women can lead to fewer children. Harris concludes that war's consort was female infanticide, and his evidence that this practice was widespread is impressive.

Citing examples from South America, Asia and Europe, Harris says: "Without reproductive pressure, neither warfare nor female infanticide would have become widespread . . . the conjunction of the two represents a savage but uniquely effective solution to

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the Malthusian dilemma." Only when children are cost-effective (as in family businesses today, where anti-child labor laws do not apply) have more children been privileged to live longer lives.

The most common method of infanticide, still practiced today, is neglect of female infants. Even in favorable habitats, where women are more valuable because they can do their work *and* nurse infants, males are prized because they once had a monopoly over primitive war weapons while female infants are neglected. Thus, undue population growth that would otherwise lower the living standards to mere subsistence levels has led to war, to males' dominant role in society, and to female infanticide.

Cannibalism is another cruel solution to the problems of overpopulation and food shortage. Animals which ate what humans did not provided the Old World with a source of protein; but Mexico had no ruminants. Thus, while evidence of human sacrifice has been found from Brazil to Canada, the Aztecs were the most cannibalistic. One spectacle consumed 14,000 victims. Ubiquitous "chapels" required daily offerings. The Aztecs, therefore, needed perpetual warfare and preferred to take their prisoners alive. Centuries of the cycle of growth, intensification and depletion meant devising ever new means to support ever more people. Moreoever, the growing cost of each new technology eventually required a central authority, which now wanted to retain power. Cannibalism, then, served two purposes at once: the state achieved *political* control by rewarding the selected group with needed *nutrition*. Thus, while Old World religions could be merciful, the ritual killings of the Aztecs were a cover — feeding the gods was a euphemism for feeding the people. Clearly, only a thoroughly depleted state with a burgeoning population would resort to the religious ruse and the perpetual war that constant cannibalism entailed. In all this, Harris is convincing.

RAINFALL AND DEMOCRACY

Many early societies developed in large river valleys with most of their people living, after a while, only a notch above pauperism. Agriculture in these valleys required "clearing" the trees, confining farming to the valleys because the surrounding land was unproductive, and finally, irrigation. Harris shows that the initial successes led, predictably, to population growth and then to ever more dependence on the water project and a person who could order the assembly of people needed for the massive project. This dependence on centralization led (inevitably) to despotism, for the owner of the project now controlled the people. But the irrigation system became more vulnerable to disrepair, and the despotic regime yielded to corruption, until the state itself gave way to rot from within and attack from without.

In Europe, however, water was available to all because rain fell abundantly and everywhere. With no need for large water projects requiring central control, the population could be dispersed and localities could develop on their own. Thus, since form follows function, Europe's large areas had no need to unify. (Rome and Charlemagne created veneers of short-lived unification, but the areas, as we still see today, retained their identities.)

"...ecology cannot be omitted from consideration as a contributing factor in the rise of democracies, which arose in conditions where abundant resources and low population density required no central authority."

Later, nobles and merchants, looking for more income, allocated land to sheep, giving less and poorer land to crops. At first fertilizer and new seeds increased yields, but population again outran productivity resulting in a pauperized peasantry, faster growth of towns, and more female infanticide. Technology helped the few but degraded the many.

Unlike China, where centralized government inhibited the gains of individuals, in Europe various persons accumulated wealth and thereby contested the power of kings. Whatever other factors obtain here, ecology cannot be omitted from consideration as a contributing factor in the rise of democracies, which arose in conditions where abundant resources and low population density required no central authority.

In democracies, we enjoy a broader allocation of benefits: the size of the work force has been limited by anti-child labor laws, compulsory education, and various kinds of insurance. Such factors have also

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raised the costs and decreased the financial benefits of having children, leading to a decrease in family size in the industrialized countries. But with more costly energy contributing to higher living costs, and with developing countries changing to more intensive technologies, the threats of depletion, pollution and centralized authority become great indeed if population growth continues.

"...perhaps humanity could make one good, long-term choice and save itself in the only sensible way open: limiting our population."

Like rainfall in Europe, energy sources were once dispersed. Now, centralized control allows the manipulation of supplies that gives despotism a great opportunity. Nuclear power would require even more control due to massive possibilities for misuse; and increased crime, fanatic terrorism and ingrained ethnic strife would be the rationale for more political control. The many who do not share in technology's benefits loom as a threat to stability. Even now, democracies have had a significant middle class only for 150 years, and worker benefits for fewer than that. Reading Harris' evidence, then, raises the question of whether our brief moment in human history is a rise to be followed by another — but this time global — decline; and whether adequate standards of living will ever be achieved by the two-thirds of the world's people who are still ill-fed, ill-housed and oppressed.

Harris' descriptions of cultural evolution will sound familiar to readers of today's newspapers. Similar variables are operating under similar conditions and may very well lead to similar consequences. Short-term conscious decisions have, so far, yielded results exactly opposite to those desired: farming and herding turn forests and grasslands into deserts. The long-term, cumulative effects of such cost/benefit choices are too obvious to miss. Yet, nations opt for the wrong course: massive intensification to accommodate the ever-burgeoning population despite the evidence that we are again producing grand depletions, deserts, erosion, floods, droughts, destruction of forests, mud slides, scarcities, animal and plant extinctions, and fouling of the very air and water we need to survive.

Losing empires are collapsing while the *winners* are being sucked into their own morass of overpopulation, ethnic strife and general decay by a blind refusal to see the only reasonable solution: population limits, made easy now by access to means of contraception that do not resort to war, female infanticide, or the starvation of children. The precious living standards and valued democracy that have flourished only too briefly and in too few places are threatened.

Yet, there are still those who say that limiting human population is a bad idea. At least this once, perhaps humanity could make one good, long-term choice and save itself in the only sensible way open: limiting our population. But, given the notorious thoughtlessness and venality that have plagued our past, the question is: will we change in time? or at all?

Harris' book, *Cannibals and Kings,* and a later one, *Our Kind: Who We Are, Where We Came From and Where We Are Going* (Random House, 1989) covering the same positions but with other material and in a more popular format, merit our serious attention. After reading him, it is difficult to doubt that undue and extended population growth drives us to long-term harm. The evidence is too pervasive and the arguments are too persuasive to ignore. ■

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In Santa Barbara, California, Tom Andres is a freelance writer, often on environmental topics. In the following piece he reviews a book which he finds helpful in understanding the background of America's current fixation on rights and self-fulfillment.

SELFISHNESS TRIUMPHANT

A Book Review by Tom Andres

THE RISE OF SELFISHNESS IN AMERICA
By James Lincoln Collier
Oxford University Press
308 pp., $24.95

From 1910 to the 1970s, Americans went from having a Victorian social code based on self-restraint to one "in which self-gratification is a central ideal." This according to James Lincoln Collier's *The Rise of Selfishness in America* (Oxford University Press, 308 pages, $24.95), an impressive attempt to answer, "How did we get from there to here?"

As Collier describes it, the Victorians of the 19th century lived in a society that was "in many respects better" than our own. While there were serious injustices, "the great central mass of Americans" lived within a "social system that was predictable, stable and basically decent."

However, the beginning of the end for the Victorian social order came with the rise of the industrial city in the latter half of that century. And elemental to that change was the city's large immigrant population, whose outlook was "paradoxically less optimistic and more hedonistic."

It was not that the new immigrants were plagued by some alien character flaw. Family and hard work were important. But many had come from traditional peasant cultures that were a world apart from the Victorian idea that long years of sobriety, punctuality and striving would be rewarded with prosperity and elevated social status. History and experience had taught immigrants that life was hard and short and in need of tempering "with what pleasure they could get."

Also of central importance in the change that took place was the influence of the modern vice, or red light, district. Victorians were of the belief that ladies and gentlemen should not be idle. And when time permitted fun to be had, something uplifting was in order, such as a piano recital, which was not the typical form of entertainment along San Francisco's Barbary Coast or New Orleans' Storyville.

Collier maintains that vice districts were important not just because people could go there to sin, but because they served to "educate" the Victorian middle class. These "old stock" Americans, with their rural and small town orientations, could become familiar with more relaxed social behavior, presented to them as perfectly acceptable, or even preferable to their own austere style of living.

The vice districts proved to be of great importance in another way. Saloon and nightclub acts were modified to better conform to middle class sensibilities and then organized on a grand scale. The result was first vaudeville and eventually the "giant" entertainment industry we have today. Motion pictures, the phonograph, spectator sports and television would soon balloon into a major aspect of American life. Significantly, being entertained is a passive process, "essentially a solitary pursuit, an act of the self."

"As the country moved into the twentieth century, it became awash in great intellectual and artistic change."

Apart from the effects of immigration and vice establishments, there were other historical forces at work. Industrialization and urbanization were already making life more isolated and impersonal. To many, the Victorian social code began to appear irrelevant, as something that could be violated without cost.

As the country moved into the twentieth century, it became awash in great intellectual and artistic change. The popularized ideas of such thinkers as Sigmund Freud, John Dewey and John Watson further propelled society in the direction of self-fulfillment, "not simply as a worthwhile goal,

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but as a birthright." Partly in reaction to these new concepts, the arts also took up the cause, with dance, music, painting and photography holding up uninhibited self-expression as the highest ideal in the "on-going present."

From the late 1890s to the start of the First World War, intellectuals and artists were uncovering two great principles. First, was the importance of "real life," which generally meant life in a slum or vice district. As Collier points out, this implied that the tidy neighborhoods of the Victorians were somehow artificial. The second principle was, of course, freedom — "in art, in life, in thought."

Similarly, the new feminism of the early twentieth century was more about "self and freedom," such as the freedom to smoke cigarettes, than the good-works causes championed by many Victorian women. Although some important social concerns were again involved — and women had certainly been unfairly chained to their pedestals — the central thrust, Collier maintains, was to break loose from constraints and obligations, to free the self.

"Apparently the Great Depression and the start of World War II were seen as something akin to a tragically inconvenient detour. America wanted to get back on course ... toward ever greater self-fulfillment."

Surrounded by all of this change, the Victorians did fight back, most notably with Prohibition. Ultimately, however, the Victorian middle class was "seduced."

As Victorian social ties unravelled the new, freer style of living began to exert centrifugal force on families and communities. And so, according to Collier, "American society made a gigantic shift."

Needless to say, the "cult of the self" was riding high during the 1920s, with considerable help from the liberating power of the automobile. But considering how that decade would end, wouldn't the 1930s necessarily be a time of sane and sober reassessment? Not really. Apparently the Great Depression and the start of World War II were seen as something akin to a tragically inconvenient detour. America wanted to get back on course, to be once again barrelling down that freeway toward ever greater self-fulfillment.

This indeed became possible with the economic prosperity generated by the war and its consumer-driven aftermath. Of tremendous importance also was the introduction and rapid spread of television: "Nothing, perhaps, since the discovery of alcohol has so dramatically altered the nature of human consciousness." Television, in its mesmerizing way, has greatly contributed to further isolation and self-absorption.

Therefore, according to Collier's detailed and colorful accounts, American history is not best understood as something cyclical, or as governed by pendular swings, but as a one-way progression, albeit at irregular speeds, in the direction of self. Not only were the Jazz Age, the Swing Era and the Age of Aquarius similar in their underlying philosophies, but the conservatism of the intervening periods was pretty superficial. These quieter times were periods in which the intellectual groundwork could be laid for the next major thrust forward.

Thus, what had begun as a struggle to be free of Victorian social constraints, grew and evolved into a "conscious philosophy with the self at the heart of it." By the time we had reached the 1970s, the pursuit of personal fulfillment had moved from being acceptable, and then desirable, to being seen as a "positive duty."

Collier also sees the decade of the 1970s as significant because by 1973 there had been a "sudden, sharp upswing in self-indulgence." The main reasons for this were: the "astonishing and unprecedented" stretch of postwar prosperity; the influence of television; the delayed impact of the 1960s counterculture; and the "human potential movement" growing out of the works of psychologist Abraham Maslow and others.

As if all this were not enough, also in the 1970s Americans felt the combined impact of the war in Vietnam, the Watergate scandal and persistent inflation, bringing about a "sharp break in American morale." There was a "loss of faith," ushering in what Collier sees as a "hell with it" attitude, a widespread "mood of cynical selfishness."

Not surprisingly, by the decade of the 1980s, politicians were routinely being elected because they

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offered voters as much self-gratification as possible. Government promised lower taxes and deregulation. Would this mean fewer government subsidies? No. Although schools and bridges could be neglected, other expenditures would move right along with the help of deficit spending. Thus, according to Collier, selfishness had become the "*official* policy of the United States."

And so we arrive at the society we live in today. The litany is all too familiar, including the breakup of the family, drug use, illiteracy, crime and environmental damage. Collier finds three consequences of the rise of selfishness to be particularly egregious.

Most appalling is the extent to which American children have been "abandoned." By raising so many children "outside of an intact nuclear family," our society, Collier warns, is doing something on a mass scale unprecedented in human history — and ignoring its own future survival.

The second most serious consequence is "our insistence on having huge quantities of private goods at the expense of public needs." School test scores fall. Infrastructure crumbles. Yet huge amounts of money are devoted to video games and the latest innovation in athletic shoes.

Finally, Collier is disturbed by what he sees as a belief "held by millions of Americans that they have a constitutional right to break the law." He provides the example of littering, although, as we know, examples are all around us.

"...his concern is with a movement toward rights and self-fulfillment that became so single-minded it forgot about family and community values."

If we are now a self-involved "nation of loners", what can be done about it?

First, as Collier points out, we must recognize that we cannot rely on the standard liberal-conservative tug of war to provide answers, particularly since both sides are too busy sponsoring interest group demands for greater rights.

Collier believes many Americans have now grown tired of constantly hearing about rights without mention of corresponding responsibilities. And were a leader to arise who "promised to show where duty lay, he would be swept into office with astonishing majorities from all segments of society." He points out, however, that we as individuals must also expend time and energy examining the problem and figuring out what we can do to correct it.

Some critics will probably unfairly charge Collier with yearning for the good old days of Victorian inequalities, or complain that he is advocating a rollback of individual rights. His book makes clear, however, that his concern is with a movement toward rights and self-fulfillment that became so single-minded it forgot about family and community values. It is also worth noting that continually choosing individual rights over social cohesion will eventually bring about enough social disintegration to threaten even the most fundamental of rights.

At times Collier's book does seem a bit harsh, at least by implication, regarding past efforts to secure greater rights and fulfillment. One problem may be that no matter how worthy an individual's cause, once it has achieved a certain level of recognition, it becomes simplified and popularized by the news and entertainment media, and then commercialized into a brainless slogan in order to sell innumerable products that "free" us from something or other. Also, could it be that at least a portion of the individualism and selfishness we experience today has its roots in pioneer and Victorian optimism, and is not completely explained by a conquering antithesis?

As this book review is written, the latest in discovered "rights" featured on the evening news involves "reproductive rights for death row inmates." People formerly thought of as convicted murderers are now freedom fighters, advancing the cause of human rights in exciting new directions. In other words, James Lincoln Collier's thesis is a timely and compelling one, shedding much light on how we got to where we are today, and pointing us in the right future direction — toward a reinvigorated family and community life within a stable and just society. ■

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Wayne Lutton is book editor of The Social Contract. *Lindsey Grant is editor of* NPG Forum, *a publication of Negative Population Growth, Inc., a public interest group based in Teaneck, New Jersey, (201) 837-3555.*

HOW MANY IS TOO MANY?

A Book Review by Wayne Lutton

ELEPHANTS IN THE VOLKSWAGEN:
FACING THE TOUGH QUESTIONS
ABOUT OUR OVERCROWDED COUNTRY
by Lindsey Grant, *et al*
W. H. Freeman & Co.
272 pp., $22.95 (hardcover)
$13.95 (paperback)
[phone orders accepted at
1-800-877-5351]

Overpopulation is commonly regarded as a Third World problem, when it is acknowledged at all (it may be recalled that in 1984 the Reagan Administration, at the urging of the Vatican, dis-missed "population pressure" as a factor contributing to national and international problems). Yet, there is scarcely a pressing issue — whether it be unemployment, falling education standards, urban blight, racial minority tensions, environmental degradation, or energy availability — that is not affected by the quantity and quality of our population. During this election year, when, ideally, issues should be raised and frankly discussed, no one has thus far been willing to note how growing population relates to growing problems.

Lindsey Grant, a former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Environmental and Population Affairs, asked a group of experts in the fields of energy use, agriculture, labor, economics, biology, demographics, resource management, immigration policy, geology, sociology, and national defense this question: "ideally, given the issues facing the country, how many Americans should there be? How can we get there, and how long would it take?" The responses to his challenge are included in *Elephants in the Volkswagen*, the first book published in this country to forthrightly link the size of our population with a host of pressing problems.

Grant and his colleagues challenge the fundamental assumptions of those who contend that continuing growth is desirable or even possible. They argue that the U.S. is already over-populated, and that we lack the resource base to sustain the relatively high standard of living we have enjoyed throughout the post-World War II era. National policies and social behavior are exacerbating the situation: Paul Werbos of the National Science Foundation observes that the least able tend to have the most children. Vernon Briggs of Cornell University notes that current immigration policies favor the entry of the unskilled and the ill-educated.

Crowded societies do not leave much room for the kinds of freedoms that are possible to enjoy in uncrowded ones. Had this country stabilized its population at the 1950 mark of 150 million, we would not require any imported oil, pollution would be markedly lower, and many other problems would be less intense or non-existent. In calling for dramatically reduced U.S. population density, the authors of this symposium show how individual prosperity and a quality environment can be assured for future generations.

"Grant and his colleagues challenge the fundamental assumptions of those who contend that continuing growth is desirable or even possible."

"Unfortunately," as Garrett Hardin reminds us, "it is difficult to believe in bad news until ruin is fully upon us." *Elephants in the Volkswagen* courageously confronts the hard questions about population, while offering a number of realistic answers. Hopefully, it will help touch off the national debate that is required if we are to evade some of the consequences of our past follies. ■

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Brief Mentions

Wayne Lutton, Book Editor

ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION:
AN UNFOLDING CRISIS
By Daniel James
University Press of America
166 pp., $42.00 (hardcover);
$16.00 (paperback)

While the United States legally admits more immigrants than the rest of the world combined, the federal government also permits hundreds of thousands of additional people to illegally enter — and remain in — this country every year. The number of these illegal entrants has been rising steadily. Despite opinion polls confirming broad-based public opposition to high levels of immigration, both legal and illegal, all but a very few politicians have chosen to downplay the importance of this issue, if they address it at all.

"[Illegal immigration] affects almost every aspect of our lives, from the neighborhoods we live in to the jobs we seek, and raises questions about the very stability of America..."

In his new book, *Illegal Immigration: An Unfolding Crisis,* Daniel James, a widely-published specialist in Latin American affairs, discusses the impact that illegal immigrants are having on American society. Illegal immigration, he shows, "affects almost every aspect of our lives, from the neighborhoods we live in to the jobs we seek, and raises questions about the very stability of America if measures are not taken to control it. The development of a foreign underclass is one of the potentially explosive social forces that massive illegal immigration produces, with its implication of non-assimilable ethnic enclaves and unlawful acts in association with criminal elements including drug traffickers."

Mexico is the homeland of most illegal entrants and James provides a useful summary of the demographic, political, and economic factors spurring the exodus of feet people from that potentially prosperous land to the United States. Other chapters document the mounting use by illegal aliens of expensive social services, particularly education, health, and other welfare programs; labor market impact; their involvement in the drug trade; border crime; and the threat of urban racial and ethnic unrest. [His book appeared before the most recent round of riots, which, in Los Angeles, witnessed the participation of thousands of illegal aliens.] A final chapter outlines some of the steps that might be taken to control the problem.

James' book contains much useful information. Regrettably, the author has been let down by his publisher, who has grossly over-priced the book. If the asking price was changed to $5.00 for a paperback and $9.95 to $12.95 for the hardcover, it would stand a chance of achieving the circulation it deserves. During an election year, when this book might contribute to the needed debate on immigration policy, this is especially unfortunate. ■

THE COST OF MULTICULTURALISM
By Stephen J. Rimmer
71 pp., $10.00
[Order from the author: P. O. Box 1094, Belconnen, Australian Capital Territory, Australia 2616]

Over the past two decades, Australia, like the United States, has witnessed the emergence of multiculturalism. Sold to the public as a policy providing all citizens with respect for their ethnic and religious backgrounds and equal access to society's benefits, in Australia it has fostered the development of new pressure groups, government agencies, and programs that favor recent immigrants — mostly Asians as it turns out — at the expense of the country's majority. In Australia, as elsewhere, the rise of multiculturalism is inextricably linked with the government's recent immigration policies, which have a pronounced Asian bias.

In *The Cost of Multiculturalism,* Stephen J. Rimmer, a senior economist in the Commonwealth civil service, attempts to assess the economic impacts associated with the policy of multiculturalism. After sifting through a myriad of public- and private-sector

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economic reports, the author has been able to detail the costs attributable to multiculturalism in fifteen areas of Australia's economy.

The budget for the federal "Office of Multicultural Affairs" includes but a small portion of the total. Federal expenditures for the arts, ethnic broadcasting programs, special education services provided to 'disadvantaged' students and employees, English language programs, housing, health and welfare, must also be taken into consideration. Indirect costs of multiculturalism include greater organized fraud and crime.

"The policy of admitting thousands of immigrants who possess little fluency in English has led to the creation of a substrata of people who have ... a marginal role to play in the economy."

Mirroring U.S. practice, the Australian government has enacted affirmative action programs that discriminate against citizens of English-speaking background. What affirmative action costs the economy is difficult to determine, but it would appear to be substantial. The policy of admitting thousands of immigrants who possess little fluency in English has led to the creation of a substrata of people who have, at best, a marginal role to play in the economy. Those who do find work experience a higher rate of workplace accidents, and have materially contributed to the reduced productivity and reduced wages of those sectors of the economy where they are most often hired.

Australia's ethnic lobbyists and political elite never tire of loudly asserting that multiculturalism is of immense benefit to the country. Rimmer's dispassionate study suggests that, far from being a net plus, multiculturalism is costing Australia's seventeen million inhabitants at least $6.9 billion annually (1.9 percent of the gross domestic product). This likely understates the true cost, since many expenses attributable to multicultural policies are concealed. The author recommends that a Royal Commission be established to weigh the true costs and benefits of multiculturalism. He is confident that, were this done, the public would demand that the policy of multiculturalism be abandoned.

Rimmer's monograph is an enlightening introduction to Australia's multicultural and immigration policies. A report very much along these lines needs to be prepared in this country to advance the debate over immigration-related issues. ■

TRIADS: THE GROWING GLOBAL THREAT FROM THE CHINESE CRIMINAL SOCIETIES

By Martin Booth
St. Martin's Press
215 pp., $16.95

In 1997, Hong Kong is scheduled to be turned over from the relatively benevolent control of Britain to the uncertain mercies of the masters of Beijing. This change has already prompted an exodus. Among those who are seeking safe haven elsewhere are the Chinese criminal societies, known as the Triads. The United States, Canada, and Australia are their destinations of preference.

Martin Booth, a widely-published British journalist, has prepared an introduction to the clandestine world of the Triads. From their founding as patriotic societies some three hundred years ago, he recounts how they have emerged in the late 20th Century as highly sophisticated criminal fraternities.

In the United States, home to the largest Chinese colony in the world, Triads control the multi-billion dollar heroin trade and are fast expanding into cocaine, marijuana, and "designer" drugs. Triad societies run protection rackets, engage in loansharking, gambling operations, insurance and credit card fraud, money laundering, computer crime, the counterfeiting of immigration documents, currency, stock and bond certificates, alien smuggling, and a vast prostitution business. Profits are being reinvested in legitimate enterprises, including real estate.

As the author makes clear, the United States and other target countries are currently ill-prepared to meet this new challenge. The Triads and other Asian criminal syndicates pose special problems for law enforcement, since their members are bound to secrecy, and the almost insurmountable barriers of language and culture make successful prosecutions difficult in the extreme. ■

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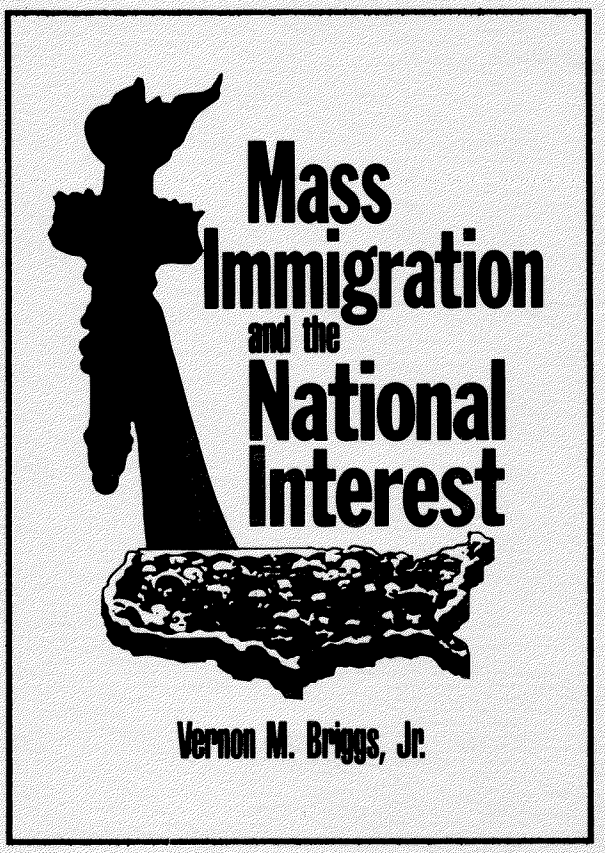
New

U.S. immigration policy has stimulated the largest inflow of immigrants in the 1980s and 1990s than at any time in the history of the United States.



In this comprehensive analysis of mass immigration, the author shows how the policy was designed essentially by political considerations. Policy neglected immigration's economic impact at a time when the country was entering a fundamental economic adjustment. The United States does not face a labor shortage per se, but a shortage of quality labor. Yet immigration has led to a majority of new workers seeking unskilled jobs in declining sectors in manufacturing and services and has given rebirth to sweatshop enterprises and child labor law violations.

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